HEADS AND HANDS

IN

THE WORLD OF LABOUR.



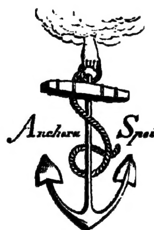
HEADS AND HANDS

IN THE WORLD OF LABOUR

BY

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'That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another.'—1 COR. XII. 25.

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TO

THE HEADS

OF THE WORLD OF LABOUR,

WITH PRAYER FOR GOD'S BLESSING ON ALL

WHO SEEK THE GOOD OF

THE HANDS.

PREFACE.

THE present Volume is a Sequel and a Supplement to *Better Days for Working People.* I felt so astonished, and almost alarmed, at the extraordinary circulation of that little book,—placing me as it did under so heavy responsibility,—that I resolved to study the subject more thoroughly, and try to qualify myself better for writing upon it. As I had already written chiefly for the employed, I resolved next to write chiefly for employers. Living in Edinburgh, out of the whirl of the world of labour, I have had to gather material from many other quarters; but I have spared no pains, whether by correspondence, reading, or personal intercourse with employers and with intelligent workmen, to gain the requisite information. I have to express my deep obligation to many friends who have kindly given me much valuable aid, and to others whose encouraging words have

induced me to persevere, when the difficulties of the subject, and the overwhelming pressure of other duties, had almost compelled me to desist.

It has been extremely interesting to me, in the progress of my task, to find how the experience of right-minded men, in all the several kinds of employment treated of, tends to establish the same great principles, as lying at the foundation of a right relation between masters and men.

A few paragraphs have been introduced in Chaps. IV. VI. and VII. from an article of mine on 'Commercial Philanthropy' in the *North British Review* for November 1864, which obtained the notice of the *Times* and other influential journals. Similar use has been made in Chap. VII. of a paper 'Beginning the Day in a Commercial Warehouse,' in the *Sunday Magazine* for October 1864. I have to thank the publishers of these journals for permission to make this use of my papers in the present volume.

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CHAPTER I.

THE WORLD OF LABOUR.

'Not for wealth to merchant princes
  From the thews of labour riven:
Not for walls 'twixt want and riches,
  England, is thy greatness given:
But that rich and poor throughout thee
  May be train'd in love to live;
And to nations round about thee
  Of brother's bonds the pattern give.'—Anon.

THE history of British industry might almost be called the romance of Providence. Even at a remote period, we see threads of influence coming strangely together, when some of our industrial processes were beginning to take shape; but in more recent times the traces of God's finger crowd on our notice, and cannot be overlooked. Great discoveries that eventually effect social revolutions, are seen springing from causes apparently the most accidental, but in reality fruits of the all-designing providence of God.

When, for example, in 1589, William Lee, of St. John's College, Cambridge, led his young bride to the

altar, contrary to the college statutes, he little thought, as he placed the gold ring on her finger, that the movements of that hand would originate a revolution in one of the leading branches of English industry. But truth is stranger than fiction, and so it proved. Expelled from St. John's for his breach of the law of celibacy, he and his wife were driven to their shifts to procure the necessaries of life. Mrs. Lee had recourse to knitting; and while watching the movements of her fingers, it is said her husband conceived the idea of constructing a machine which should perform similar movements with the like results. At first his invention was rejected in this country, and taken by its author to France. In the course of time, however, it found its way into the Midland Counties of England, and after encountering much opposition from the workmen, was gradually adopted, and is still in use. In the town of Leicester alone, a few years ago, 14,000 of these frames were employed in the stocking department; about 3500 in making gloves and mits; while the fancy hosiery branch, which has been originated within the present century, numbered about 2000 frames and looms of various kinds.[1]

As little could Richard Arkwright, barber and dealer in hair, have fancied, when he set himself to discover the perpetual motion, that defeated though

[1] *Memoir of R. Harris, Esq., late M.P. for Leicester*, pp. 58, 59.

he was in his immediate object, the 'spinning-jenny,' to which his experiments indirectly gave birth, should very speedily overturn the ancient spinning-wheel, and hand down to posterity, along with his invention, the name and title of Sir Richard Arkwright.

Still less could it have entered into the dreams of the Rev. Dr. Cartwright, when he left his parish in 1784 to spend a few days at Matlock, that the giant 'power-loom' would spring into being from a casual remark thrown out by him there, in company with some gentlemen from Manchester. The conversation turned on Arkwright's spinning machinery, and the remark was made by one of the gentlemen, that as soon as Arkwright's patent expired, so many mills would be erected, and so much cotton spun, that hands would never be found to weave it. Dr. Cartwright replied that Arkwright must set his wits to work to invent a weaving-mill, adding that if a machine could be made to play chess, there was no reason why it should not be taught to weave. That the wits, not of Arkwright, but of Cartwright, should really solve the problem would have seemed the most ludicrous supposition possible,—the said Cartwright at that time having never in his life even seen a loom. But when he went home, the idea took hold of him with a strange fascination, and never left him. He would be seen by his family walking to and fro apparently in deep meditation, and occasionally throwing his

arms from side to side. His children were told that he was thinking of weaving and throwing the shuttle, and we can easily fancy the little urchins making ludicrous imitations of the parental movement. In a few years the invention was completed; weaving by machinery became an established fact; the power-loom even learned to do intricate work; and such was the astonishment caused by it, that when a manufacturer who had declared it impossible that the machine could accomplish the weaving of *patterns in checks*, saw a piece of muslin of the description mentioned beautifully executed by it, he is said to have roundly declared his conviction that some agency more than human must have been called in to assist on the occasion.[1]

While Providence in this singular way was bringing to light methods of spinning and weaving by machinery, vastly more rapid than by the unaided human hand, an agent for driving the machinery, of corresponding magnitude and power, was getting trained and harnessed for his work. About three years after the birth of Richard Arkwright at Preston, and seven years before the birth of Edmund Cartwright in Nottinghamshire, James Watt was born at Greenock (1736). Arago has recorded an anecdote of his early years, that shows how far removed were his first speculations on steam from his ultimate inven-

[1] *Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties*, vol. ii. pp. 346-8.

tion. His mischievous idleness one evening at the tea-table awakened the ire of his aunt: taking off the lid of the tea-kettle and putting it on again; holding sometimes a cup and sometimes a silver spoon over the steam; watching the exit of the steam from the spout, and counting the drops of water into which it became condensed. How would Mrs. Muirhead have stared if a prophet had told her that these idle pranks of her nephew, as she considered them, would give birth to a revolution that would change the aspect of the world,—that would quickly expand villages into colossal towns, cover whole parishes and counties with workshops, spread over the world a net-work of iron, along which both men and merchandise would be whirled with almost the speed of lightning, and multiply a thousandfold the power of man over the products of nature!

Through the force of these, and many other wonderful mechanical inventions; through the marvellous supply of minerals with which our little island is stored; through the rare combination of mental activity and mechanical skill, of bold enterprise and plodding perseverance, that are characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race;—Britain has become the workshop of the world, and won the first place in the race of industry. But had Providence no higher aim in giving her this pre-eminence? Was the city set on an hill merely that its products might be admired for

the excellence of their quality and the beauty of their workmanship? Is there no higher lesson for her to teach the world? How immensely would it add to her glory, if she could show a manufacturing population as pre-eminent in all moral and spiritual excellence, as the work of their hands is in mechanical skill,—masters and men living in brotherly union, rejoicing and aiding in each other's welfare; all bright and kindly feelings radiating from heart to heart, as pleasantly and as peacefully as the light of the stars is darted from one to another, all over the firmament; thousands of industrious families living in healthful houses, and well provided with all that can make home prosperous and happy; the high sense of duty prevailing over all selfish feelings; and the hope that maketh not ashamed giving its radiance to every life, great and small!

Nothing short of this can be regarded as the end of Providence in the extraordinary impulse that has been given, especially of late, to the industry of Great Britain. Is it Utopian to hope that the great body of manufacturers and employers may be brought to sympathize with this aim, and count it their highest glory to aid in accomplishing it? Can it be that the thirst for gain must utterly blind them to the surpassing glory of the higher enterprise,—must make their hearts so earthly and stolid that they cannot be moved to one earnest effort for elevating the character and

brightening the life of the masses around them? Will no vain regrets, in such a case, haunt the deathbed—no visions of lasting good that might have been done, of true glory that might have been attained, had the heart not been so exclusively bent on the more earthly and paltry pursuit? We should be the last to entertain so unworthy an opinion of a large section of the most vigorous and enterprising of our countrymen, and therefore we make no apology to employers, in appealing to them, as we now do, to lend their earnest aid towards realizing a consummation so devoutly to be wished,—towards making their country the garden, as well as the workshop of the world.

Among the many social changes effected by recent mechanical inventions, one of the most important is that they have brought together large masses of men, or of men, women, and children, to work in concert under a single master or directing head. Formerly, labour in spinning, in weaving, and in other employments, was much more dispersed. The work was done to a large extent in the houses of the work-people, as it still is in a few occupations at the present day. The spinning-jenny, the power-loom, and the steam-engine, have made a direct change in this respect in many branches of industry, and by a kind of sympathetic action have extended the new system to other forms of labour. It is not easy to form an exact estimate of the extent of this change. But we are

able to state with some accuracy the number of occupations in which large bodies of men are employed, and also to specify the actual number of those employed in individual cases. In the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1856 on Masters and Operatives, there occurs an elaborate enumeration of the manufactures, etc., carried on in this country, in which large bodies of men are employed, and those also in which the number is comparatively small. Of the former class, the total number is 126, and of the latter 66. The larger number embraces 29 different species of manufactures of metals, 29 of stuffs and textile fabrics, 28 chemical or similar processes, 17 various, 7 trades, 5 species of mining, and 11 classes of labourers. It is also stated, in proof of the great derangement which the introduction of the new order of things has caused in the relations of masters and men, that strikes have been common in 16 of the metal manufactures, 15 of the stuffs and textile fabrics, 12 of the chemical processes, 7 of the various; also in all the 7 trades, all the 7 mining operations, and in 8 out of 11 classes of labourers. It is to the new order of things we owe our gigantic mills, our tall chimneys, our 'black country,' and our 'manufacturing districts.' In our next chapter, we shall have occasion to dwell in detail on the dire moral evils which attended the birth of the new system, but which, we fain hope, are

now in the course of being removed, or at all events mitigated. Our object at present is simply to convey some notion of the enormous magnitude of the social change which has come into operation during the present century, and the boundless importance of the topic we wish to handle,—the relation that should subsist between masters and men.

Not many months ago, Sir Samuel Morton Peto, at a meeting in Bristol, expressed his belief that he was the largest employer of labour in this country,—perhaps in the world; the number of persons to whom, directly or indirectly, his undertakings gave employment being not less than 30,000. I have been informed by one of the great shipowners of Liverpool that the number of sailors whose names are entered in his books in the course of a twelvemonth may be 25,000, although of these not more than perhaps a tenth may be drawing his pay at any one time. In advertising their works lately as a joint-stock company, the Crossleys of Halifax stated that the number of men in their employment (chiefly carpet-weavers) was about 4500. Mr. Ackroyd of the same town gives 6000 as his number, but these are more dispersed. Two thousand or three thousand is by no means an uncommon number in a single work. But the bare statement of numbers is a poor way of conveying an impression of the mass of human life that is often employed and directed by a single head. To stand

at the gate of such a mill as Mr. Salt's at Saltaire, and see the current of workers leaving by one gate at the dinner hour, brings to one's mind the famous line in which Horace describes the ceaseless flow of a river. The several floors or areas of this factory, put together, would cover eleven acres and a half. In the glass and chemical works of Messrs. Chance of Birmingham, there are about fifty chimneys, and as the works cover a surface of forty acres, this is not much more than a chimney to an acre. Mr. Ransome of Ipswich, whose works employ from twelve to fifteen hundred men, reckons that the wages paid by him provide no less than 130,000 meals a week. Let any one try to reckon the difference in point of the personal happiness and social virtue involved, between 130,000 meals taken in the spirit of discontent and angry jealousy, on the one hand, and in the spirit of thankfulness and kindly regard on the other, and he will have some notion of the vast and most vital ramifications of the spirit that may be prevailing between employer and employed.

Even in warehouses and offices the number employed is often very great. The Bank of England has nearly 900 clerks, besides a considerable body of printers, bookbinders, and other mechanics. In such metropolitan establishments as that of Hitchcock, Williams and Co., of St. Paul's Churchyard, or Copestake, Moore, and Crampton in Bow Churchyard, or Shool-

bred and Co. in Tottenham Court Road, as many as six or seven hundred assistants are under one governing power. Some provincial establishments are little, if at all, behind the metropolitan. The lace warehouse of Messrs. Adams and Co., of Nottingham, employs about 600,—the great majority of these, however, being females. In the large printing-offices of London, such as Messrs. Spottiswoode's or Messrs. Clowes', the number of men is at least six or seven hundred.

I have referred to cases with which I am personally acquainted, and I by no means fancy that I have stated the largest existing numbers. Every one may see, too, that the tendencies of the age are running strongly in the direction of centralization,—running, perhaps, with a force that will presently cause a reaction. The resources of individuals, or of small partnerships, are too small to furnish capital for the ever extending fields over which prosperous business is spreading. Old firms are resolving themselves into joint-stock companies, and though the management remains pretty nearly as it was, the number of shareholders is increased. The change is perhaps significant and prophetic of a larger one that may be in the future—when the number of partners in large concerns shall be much greater, and the labourer shall more directly 'eat the labour of his hands.'

Apart from all other considerations, these simple

statistics clearly demonstrate what an enormous influence is now in the hands of the comparatively small number of employers who regulate the movements of the great world of labour. Five-and-twenty years ago, Dr. Arnold of Rugby expressed his conviction that a good man, highly educated, could not possibly be in a more important position in this kingdom than as one of the heads of a great manufacturing establishment. The remark is equally true at the present day. The spirit prevailing between masters and men is indeed usually better now than it was then; but the number of workers carrying on their daily toil under individual masters is very much larger. In fact, it seems to me hardly possible to form too high a conception of the good that may be done at the present day by right-hearted and judicious employers. Their power for good is only second to that of the Christian ministry. In some respects, their influence is of a kind which no clergymen can ever attain. It greatly depends on them whether the land is to be like the garden of Eden, or like a desolate wilderness.

It is but justice to employers to say that, to a large extent, they appear now to be conscious of this high responsibility. No doubt there are many with hearts of stone, that can feel for nothing but their pockets; some, too, whom a cold political economy has schooled into the notion that payment for their

labour is the only duty they owe their workmen; and some, moreover, whose well-meant efforts have been defeated by an unfortunate manner,—a want of geniality and winsomeness,—that has repelled their workpeople instead of attracting them. But taking the employers of labour as a whole, and especially the great employers, we rejoice to acknowledge the existence of a spirit of anxiety, more or less enlightened, about the welfare of their people. Many of them do not know how to go to work in the matter, many are held back by diffidence, and many by the attitude of suspicion in which their workpeople unfortunately place themselves to them. The number of those who have solved the problem, and turned the wilderness into a garden, is indeed very small. But we are sure that at no period in the history of Great Britain was there more readiness on the part of employers to recognise the duties of their position. At once to stimulate and guide this feeling is our aim in this little book. As we have already said, we cannot exaggerate the importance of the subject. Even in its silent power, the character of a just, kind, Christian employer tells with strong and manifold effect. By an imperceptible action, unless there be some strange disturbing cause at work, the overseers under him will imbibe the spirit of their master, and the people will imbibe the spirit of the overseers. And if, over and above, he aids in judi-

cious plans for the elevation of his people, the results will be all the more blessed. The radiance of his own heart will be reflected from the hearts of hundreds; the *κυμάτων ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα* of Æschylus will be realized in a higher sense; countless gleams of joy will be reflected from him, as the ripples of the sea smile to the sunbeam.

It is a much-debated question whether the present relation of workmen to a master is in itself a good one; whether it is fitted to develop or to crush the virtue of the workman; and whether it can ever be placed on a thoroughly satisfactory footing. On that wide question of political economy we do not enter at present. We cannot pronounce the present system perfect; but if ultimately a more satisfactory one is found, it will not be on the ruins, but rather on the basis of the present. The relation between masters and servants, or between those who buy and those who sell their labour, is a divine relation, and is therefore susceptible of being penetrated by the Divine Spirit, and of yielding much benefit to both. No man, indeed, is bound to work to the orders of another if he can be independent; but so long as he does work to the orders of another, he occupies a relation which is both recognised and blessed by God. Under favourable circumstances, there is a happy natural feeling between employer and employed, which, when wisely evoked, yields much enjoyment.

Kindly treated, the apprentice readily becomes attached to his master, and has both pride and pleasure in serving him. It is not a hopeless task, therefore, to try to penetrate the present relation with a right spirit; to find good soil in the manufacturing world, where the seed of life will bear fruit, thirty, sixty, if not an hundred fold. If we wish to find our way to a better system, it must surely be by improving the present. It is not by sudden or violent revolution that improvements are reached in this island. It has always been by slow growth, by much experimenting, by many successive touches and additions to existing operations. The line of hopeful effort lies in improving the present system as much as possible. Let the selfishness of employers be checked by legislation, as far as legislation can check it; but by all practical means let them be urged to act unselfishly, to take a generous and Christian view of their relation to their workpeople, to sympathize with them, to bear with them, to encourage them in the battle of life, to cheer and hearten them in their trials and temptations. Let the men be assured that they are really loved, cared for, and sympathized with by their employers, and let them, too, on their part, give stronger evidence of attachment and fidelity, and of a conscientious desire to advance their masters' interests. Out of such a spirit some arrangement may spring, which, while more satisfactory to the men than the present,

shall not be unjust to the masters, and while binding them in closer and more affectionate bonds to each other, shall more fully implement the order of the Great Master,—'Give unto your servants that which is just and equal.'

In the arrangement, now so common, that places hundreds and thousands under one master, there is something well fitted to evoke the sense of responsibility, and also to deepen the conviction that it is a master's interest to care for his men. The master must be no better than a monster that can think of the enormous mass of human interests with which he is so closely connected without one thrill of emotion, without one burst of desire to make the vast family better and happier if he only can. In point of fact, it is usually found that the greatest employers of labour are the most considerate of their workpeople. Dr. Cooke Taylor observes, in his *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire*, in 1842, that 'Experience has everywhere shown that the great capitalists are more equitable and more merciful employers than persons of limited fortune. . . . So far as my observations have yet gone, I have found that the equity of the relations between the employers and the employed is disturbed by the want of capital, and not by the command of it. Men of limited means must suspend employment in every season of depression; they are in a position where there is

little to lose, and much to gain; they can afford to risk the penalties of oppression, to speculate on the improvidence of their workmen, to make unfair deductions from their wages, and not to be over-scrupulous in their purchase of raw-materials.'[1]

Mr. Blanchard Jerrold has made a comparison between the large and the small workshops of Paris; and while allowing special advantages to each, gives the preference, on the whole, to the large.[2]

When the Commissioners appointed by Parliament to inquire into the results of the employment of women and children in factories, were prosecuting their labours, they almost always found that it was in obscure mills, and under small proprietors, that flagrant abuses prevailed. In the large mills, the state of things was usually very different. 'Such barbarities as were found to occur in small mills would have been put down at once by the force of public indignation in large. Overseers who carried straps, or ropes with four tails, and were continually lashing the children, or kicking and knocking them down, or swearing at them, would not have been tolerated in a large establishment.[3] It is also a noticeable fact that it is not those who have themselves been workmen that as a general rule make the best or most

[1] P. 117. [2] *Children of Lutetia*, II. 129.

[3] Reports on Employment of Women and Children in Factories, 1833, 1834, throughout.

considerate masters. An acute and well-informed working man in one of the great towns in England, remarks in a letter to myself: 'I am sorry to confess that many journeymen, having risen to the position of masters, become the most tyrannical and bigoted, in every sense. An intelligent working man made this remark to me last evening, and I thoroughly indorse it. I have heard working men speak of their employers who have been in the same position, with the utmost disgust, and express the most unchristian feelings and wishes towards them, and while I do not for a moment defend these, I must say that the accounts they give of their manners and hard-heartedness, roused my indignation.' It must not, however, be supposed that this rule has not many noble exceptions.

Encompassed, then, though the task which we have set ourselves is with many difficulties on every side, we do not regard the problem as insoluble. A happy, Christian relation may, we believe, be established, even on the present footing, between masters and men, not demanding on the part of the latter any sacrifice of independence, and tending very plainly to the improvement of their condition. If this can become the stepping-stone to a system more entirely satisfactory, it will thereby prove itself so much the more a blessing.

CHAPTER II.

'WITHOUT FORM AND VOID.'

> 'Is this Improvement?—where the human breed
> Degenerate as they swarm and overflow,
> Till Toil grows cheaper than the trodden weed,
> And man competes with man, like foe with foe,
> Till Death, that thins them, scarce seems public woe?
> Improvement!—smiles it in the poor man's eyes,
> Or blooms it on the cheek of labour?—No;
> To gorge a few with Trade's precarious prize,
> We banish rural life, and breathe unwholesome skies.'
>
> CAMPBELL.

IN pleading for measures for the improvement of the relations between masters and men, we begin with a picture from life—a historical sketch of the working and fruits of the spirit of alienation and hostility. The facts that lie at our hand on this subject are unfortunately most abundant and telling; for the pictures of social misery which the history of our country during the present century supplies, are darker than any that could be created by the fancy of man.

Fifty or sixty years ago, the relations in England between masters and men, and generally between

rich and poor, appear to have been as unchristian in their character, and as miserable in their results, as they have ever been, before or since. The social thermometer about that time seems to have reached its lowest point, and for about twenty or thirty years it remained pretty stationary. During the last thirty years, it has, on the whole, been steadily rising, with now and then a temporary fall. There are spots in our country where it now stands as high as 'temperate,' if not almost at 'summer heat;' there are other spots—too numerous, we fear—where it is not yet much above the freezing-point; but, on the whole, there has been a decided elevation of temperature; and, could those who sigh for 'the good old times,' have but a brief trial of the atmosphere of 1815, they would rush from it with a shivering sensation, as one who goes to open the gate to a friend on a cold winter night, rushes back to the comfort of his snug fireside.

The reasons for this miserable state of feeling, in the early part of the century, were of many kinds. The example and influence of the French Revolution naturally tended to inflame the passions of the people against the aristocracy, and to fill the aristocracy with alarm at the people; and when the war was over, and Bonaparte safe at St. Helena, the terror that for a time had united all classes was removed, and the jealousies that had partially gone to sleep awoke with all the greater violence. The political state of

the country was extremely unsatisfactory; the great body of the people feeling that they had no voice in the affairs of the nation, and the major part of those who held the power being determined that the people should not be admitted to share it. The working classes were awaking to a sense of their freedom, and a love of independence; they were beginning to feel that though they lived by labour, they ought to be free to dispose of that labour to the best advantage, and that those who purchased their one commodity acquired no right thereby to control their opinions or coerce their actions. Extraordinary dislocations were occurring from time to time in the organization of labour; fearfully high prices, and scarcity of employment, with all the usual attendants in the shape of starvation and crime, were frequently throwing the country into a fever. Conscious of their miseries, and convinced that something must be out of joint, the labouring class made frightful errors both as to the cause and the cure of their troubles. Nothing was more common than to fancy that the new machinery by which certain processes, such as that of weaving, were so much simplified, was their mortal foe; and riots and bloodshed, followed by convictions and hanging, were of constant occurrence. Education was miserably neglected; the sources of knowledge for the people were few and imperfect; and the stiff, cold formalism which constituted the

religion of the day, supplied little or none of that winning charity, which sympathizes with the most opposite conditions of life, and binds rich and poor in loving fellowship together.

Of the deplorably bitter spirit that prevailed between class and class, and especially the harshness with which the people were treated by their rulers, the sanguinary character of the laws for the repression of crime furnishes a melancholy illustration. Sir Samuel Romilly had begun his honourable labours for thinning the list of 160 offences, to which by law the punishment of death was affixed. But the task of dethroning Draco was like one of the labours of Hercules. The fierceness of the outcry against him was only equalled by the absurdity of the arguments. Lord Chancellor Eldon was quite sure that small tradesmen would be ruined, if stealing an article from a shop, of the value of five shillings, ceased to be punishable with death. Lord Redesdale was in equal alarm at the proposal that men should no longer be put to death for blackening their faces to prevent their being recognised when stealing game by night. Did not he and his neighbours pay £200 a year for six policemen to check deer-stealing on the borders of the forest; and was it not plain that if men who came with blackened faces to steal were no longer hanged, 'the practice among these depredators would be universally resorted to?' So thought the

Lord Chancellor too, and the most of the peers; and so the blessed connexion between a blackened face and the gallows remained intact in 1820.[1] At an earlier period, Sir Samuel Romilly maintained that the only way by which any one could come to know the bitter spirit which the French Revolution had engendered in the country, was to attempt some legislative reform, on humane and liberal principles. 'He will then find not only what a stupid dread of innovation, but what a savage spirit it has infused into the minds of many of his countrymen. It is but a few nights ago,' he added, 'that while I was standing at the bar of the House of Commons, a young man, the brother of a peer whose name is not worth setting down, came up to me, and breathing in my face the nauseous fumes of his undigested debauch, stammered out, "I am against your bill; I am for hanging all." I was confounded; and endeavouring to find out some excuse for him, I observed that I supposed he meant that the certainty of punishment affording the only prospect of repressing crimes, the laws, whatever they were, ought to be executed. "No, no," he cried; "it is not that; there is no good done by mercy; they only get worse; I would hang them all up at once."'[2]

Even crimes that sprung from lamentable ignorance, and that did more harm to the class that committed

[1] Hansard's *Parliamentary History*, LXXIX. 491.
[2] Romilly's *Diary*, June 1808.

them than to any other, were most harshly treated. In the misguided excitement of the times, many working people had got the idea, as it was pithily expressed by some of them, that 'the destroying angel was the labourer's best friend.' The sentiment was not an unsuitable companion to a toast that was not unknown at farmers' dinners—'A wet harvest and a bloody war.' In many places, the people set themselves deliberately to destroy the machinery which had been introduced for simplifying labour. Under the banner of King Lud,[1] they broke into mills and weaving shops, and in an incredibly short time, the work of demolition was accomplished. About 1812-13, Luddism was in full swing in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire. About twelve years later, a similar spirit ravaged Lancashire. At the latter time, the power-loom was the object of vengeance. 'It was a mournful spectacle,' says a historian, speaking of the spring of 1825, 'to see the mob going from town to town, from factory to factory, snatching their food from bakers' shops and public-houses; throwing stones at the soldiers, and being shot down rather than give up their object, believing sincerely that their very lives depended on the destruction of these

[1] The name 'Luddites,' applied to the destroyers of stocking-frames, was derived from an imbecile, named Ned Lud, who many years before, when tormented by the street boys, had broken into a house in a village in Leicestershire, and broken two stocking-frames.

looms; leaping from two-storey windows to escape the soldiery, after having cut up every web, and hewn down every beam and stick within; striking at their pursuers with table-knives made into pikes, with scythes and sledge-hammers; swimming canals, hiding in woods, parading the streets of towns to the number of 10,000 at a time, frightening the night with cries of hunger and yells of rage;—all this was terrible; but it came at the end of many months of such sore distress as rouses the fiercest passions of men. On the first day, three persons were killed by the soldiers, on another day nine; here, it might be seen that wounded men were carried away across the fields; there, the street was found when emptied to be much stained with blood. Here a poor creature was loading his rusty gun with marbles, while the manufacturers were bringing up cannon to plant round their factories; there, haggard men were setting buildings on fire, and snatching buckets from the hands of those who would have supplied water to the engines. Between Monday morning and Saturday night, a thousand power-looms were destroyed. The immediate money value of this machinery was £30,000; but it had a greater value as the only means of bread of a large number of people who were now left idle and destitute.'[1]

[1] Knight and Martineau's *History of England during the Peace*, I. 368.

At the outbreak of the Luddite riots in 1812, no remedy could be thought of by the Legislature but that glorious panacea of the time for all crime and outrage,—the gallows. Destroying frames or machinery was made a capital offence. There were not wanting voices of remonstrance against the folly of dreaming by such a remedy to cure the disease. It was during the debate on this measure that Lord Byron delivered his maiden speech in the House of Lords. He ably and vehemently arraigned the policy of the Government, pouring out a torrent of brilliant invective against their heartlessness and imbecility, and ended by affirming, that if every preliminary difficulty were overcome, there were two things still necessary to secure the conviction and punishment of a frame-breaker,—twelve butchers for a jury, and a Jefferies for a judge.[1] Lords Lauderdale and Rosslyn recorded their protest against the measure in the following terms:—'We think it our duty, strongly, and in distinct terms, to reprobate the unprecedented folly of attempting to enlighten the minds of men in regard to what is beneficial to themselves, by increased severity of punishment; whilst every sound principle of criminal legislation makes us regard such an addition to the long list of offences already subjected to capital punishment by the laws of this country, with astonishment and dis-

[1] Hansard, LVII. 966.

gust; and every feeling of humanity leads us to express the utmost horror at the wanton cruelty of punishing our fellow-creatures with death for those culpable acts, more injurious to themselves than to any other part of the community, to which, through mistaken views of policy, the increasing distress of the times has induced them to resort.'[1] The severity of the law did not check the offence; it broke out in the same district from time to time with increased violence; and, as we have seen, so late as 1825 the same spirit ravaged Lancashire with even more deadly effects.

It is only those who are familiar with these dreadful times that can have any conception of what we owe to the better spirit of the present age, in connexion with the recent distress in Lancashire. Had that calamity befallen our country forty years ago, it is all but certain that it would have been attended by the most frightful scenes of misguided violence on the part of the people, and bloody retribution on the part of the authorities. Instead of committees for mitigating distress, there would have been associations for suppressing insurrection. Instead of bread and money, the famished districts would have been inundated with powder and shot. The newspaper press, instead of recording with admiration the patience of the sufferers and the compassion of the public, would

[1] Hansard, LVII. 1085.

have filled column after column with the news of riots and trials and hangings. Even the charity of those times, such as it was, was often bungled by folly, or neutralized by insult. A great meeting held in London in 1816, to promote a public subscription, where three royal dukes took a prominent part, was turned into a political bear-garden,—the resolutions being made the occasion of a political brawl. At Glasgow, some imaginary insult having been offered at a soup-kitchen to the more unfortunate of that community, the people were stung to madness; the soup-kitchen, with its coppers and ladles, was destroyed; the outrage swelled to riot; the military were called in; and for two days the city was exposed to a contest between the soldiers and the mob.[1]

It would be easy to multiply proofs, to almost any extent, of the melancholy and miserable spirit of those times. In the country districts, the sufferings of the poorer classes were often more terrible than in the towns, while the measures of fancied relief or of real retaliation resorted to, were not less pitiably wild and foolish. The farmers were displeased with the landlords, and the labourers were dissatisfied with the farmers. The wages of the agricultural labourer were often utterly insufficient to yield a subsistence to him and his family; his living was eked out from a parish dole; his wife and family were often separated from

[1] Knight and Martineau's *History of England*, 1. 43, 45.

him; and sometimes he himself was set up to auction, and his labour hired out by the parish authorities to the neighbouring farmers, generally for eighteen-pence or two shillings a week and his food. Incendiary fires, as mysterious in their origin as they were disastrous in their effects, became tokens to all of the prevailing discontent. Occasionally, young people were bribed to commit this crime by wretches who turned on them and informed against them to obtain the informer's reward. The acts of the sad drama were closed in the usual way; several who were mere children swung on the gallows, and the people's discontent was sought to be stilled by the people's blood.[1]

To obtain redress for their wrongs, and remuneration for their labour, the colliers sometimes resorted to devices that provoke a smile. On one occasion, a body of them from the neighbourhood of Bilston set out for London, to submit their grievances to the Prince Regent, and present him with two waggons of coal, which they drew along with them. They bore a placard, 'Willing to work, but none of us to beg;' and when, in compliance with the urgency of a body of police and magistrates sent down from London to meet them, they resolved to return home, they required certificates from the magistrates that they had conducted themselves with propriety.[2]

At a somewhat later period, the protest against

[1] Knight and Martineau, I. [2] *Annual Register*, 1816.

social suffering, which had taken the form of frame-breaking, destruction of machinery, and burning of ricks, assumed that of political Chartism. To blame the people for aspiring to political privileges would be the very height of injustice. But the Chartist agitation was accompanied with many ebullitions of a wild and fanatical spirit, and a disposition was shown by many to clutch the objects aimed at even by physical force. Extremely harsh things were said and written at the time against the whole class of persons by whom such wild projects were cherished. But by this time of day the public has come to see—what the sagacity of Thomas Carlyle proclaimed at the time—that such outbreaks were the inarticulate utterances, as it were, of men pressed by sufferings which demanded relief, but mistaking in many respects both the cause of their miseries and their effectual cure.

Perhaps we have dwelt too long on the wretched spirit that pervaded society generally at the time to which we refer. We will now add some facts bearing more particularly on the spirit that characterized the relations of capital and labour.

"The spirit of the labouring class towards the middle class was quite as bitter as towards the aristocracy; and the dread and dislike of the middle class to the labouring was correspondingly great. We have already alluded to the Lancashire riots of 1825, when the manufacturers planted cannon around their mills, and

the people rushed into them to destroy the looms. Some years earlier, in 1819, a reform meeting had been announced at Manchester, which the authorities determined to disperse. Among the forces assembled for this purpose, was a troop of about forty Manchester yeomanry, chiefly wealthy master-manufacturers. These, as it came about, were the first to attack the crowd. But the yeomanry getting dispersed and jammed in, the hussars were ordered to their relief. A scene of tremendous confusion ensued; the people falling over one another were piled in heaps; sabre-cuts were inflicted to clear the crowd; five or six lives were lost, and many persons were more or less severely wounded. The excitement over the country was immense, and the feeling between masters and men, we may believe, was in no ways improved by the prominent part which representatives of both had taken in the affray.

We may take an illustration from another quarter. In August 1825, a quarrel having occurred between the seamen and the shipowners of Sunderland, a collier vessel, manned by strangers, was observed leaving the port. A body of four hundred seamen went out to attack the vessel, and the principal shipowners went out to attack the seamen. But the rioters were too numerous for the shipowners. The latter were thrown into the sea, along with most of the crew of the obnoxious ship; but they do not

seem to have suffered much more than a ducking. The military were called out; a body of rioters on the opposite side of the river threw some stones; the soldiers fired, and five persons were killed, one of whom was a carpenter at work upon his stage, and another a labourer returning from the field. The excitement and exasperation of the people was intense; but the recusant seamen thought it right to yield.

There is no subject susceptible of such lurid and horrible illustration as that of disputes between operatives and their employers. It is not our present object to pronounce judgment as to which side usually deserves the greater share of blame. We desire only to show the effects of a spirit of hostility and alienation on the part of the men. Burning of mills, murder of unpopular operatives, and murder of the masters themselves, have at times attested the frightfulness of the fuel with which such quarrels have fed their passions. On the part of the masters, the absence of all attempts to conciliate, and the use of irritating and maddening expedients, have also at times shown the fierceness of the spirit the contest had roused. So late as 1831, 'a Manchester manufacturer was murdered in a manner that gave a shock to the whole kingdom. He left his father's house to go to the mill, in the evening, when it was dark; he was brought home dead within ten minutes, shot

through the heart in a lane by one of three men who were lying in wait for him.' A reward of £2000 failed to obtain any clue to the murderer. A few years ago, Mrs. Gaskell made this incident the plot of a very thrilling tale, in which with great power and pathos, though with considerable exaggeration, and without doing justice to the better spirit beginning to prevail, she showed the miserable fruits of the want of sympathy between masters and men.

Even so late as 1842, many operatives were openly advocating violence and destruction. In his tour through the manufacturing districts during that year, Dr. Cooke Taylor mentions his having, in the town of Burnley, come upon a group of more than twenty men, 'who were openly advocating the expediency of burning down the mills, in order to compel the factory hands to join in an insurrectionary movement. A mill had been burnt down at Colne two nights previously; doubts were entertained whether this was the result of accident or design; and in the streets of Burnley there were groups expressing their hope that it would be traced to design, and followed by imitation, while the heaviest curses were bestowed on the factory hands at Colne for having heartily exerted themselves to check the conflagration, and to supply water to the engines.'

Before concluding our glimpses of the social condition of this unhappy era, let us glance at two or

three other features, that give a vivid impression of the spirit of the time.

The state of the collieries was often very frightful. Lord Ashley's commission of 1843 laid open a scene which shocked the whole country. 'Women were employed as beasts of burden; children were stunted and diseased, beaten, overworked, oppressed in every way; both women and children made to crawl on all-fours in the passages of the pits, dragging carts by a chain passing from the waist through the legs; and all lived in an atmosphere of filth and profligacy that could scarcely leave a thought or feeling untainted by vice.'

The inquiry into the condition of women and children in factories in 1833, also brought to light some lamentable facts. In most of the large mills, as has been already stated, the children were not treated ill, while the hours of labour were commonly limited to twelve. But in other cases, most lamentable revelations were made. The commissioners met with 'undoubted instances of children five years old being sent to work thirteen hours a day, and frequently children from nine to eleven were made to work fourteen and fifteen hours.' It is pitiable to read of the sufferings of these poor infants. A Scotch laddie tells the commissioners that, with his long work, 'his feet were sae sair, they made him greet.' A girl feels frequently so tired that 'she throws herself

down when she gangs hame, no caring what she does, not able to set one foot by the other.' A father at Nottingham told of his two boys, ten and thirteen years of age, that having to go to the mill at half-past five in the morning, and with only half-an-hour's rest for breakfast, and none for dinner or tea, it was nearly ten o'clock before they got home, and used to be eleven, and even twelve. No wonder he had a deal of trouble to get them up in the morning. 'I have been obliged to beat them with a strap in their shirts, and to push them to waken. It made me cry to have to do it.' To compel these exhausted creatures to work, very horrible devices were resorted to. Passionate overseers stormed, swore, and kicked. Even mild-tempered overseers used the strap. Sometimes heavy weights were tied to their necks, like clogs round the necks of bulls. When one reads of such things, one can palliate the heartless philosophy of a little girl, who was thankful for her mother's asthma, because 'it wakened her in the morning, and saved her a beating!'[1]

It is to this period, too, that the dreariest narratives of exhausting hours in shops and similar establishments belong. Mr. Lilwall, honorary secretary to the Early Closing Movement, has given a pitiable account of his own sufferings in a London shop:—'I should utterly fail were I to attempt to describe my suffer-

[1] Report of Commissioners on Factories, 1833-34.

ings, and the cruel treatment I received from my master. We began preparing for business at six o'clock in the morning, and during the season never closed the doors earlier than half-past eleven at night. On Saturdays we rarely, if ever, got done before two o'clock; it was sometimes two or three before we finished. I have a painful recollection that I have stood in the shop (sitting was strictly forbidden) at twelve o'clock at night, folding up articles, when I have fallen asleep with the goods in my hands, on seeing which my master has threatened to set me at some heavy work to keep my eyes open. Such was the treatment I received after having been on my feet eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. My bed was under the counter, where I was overrun with vermin. My master would not mind telling any number of falsehoods of the most glaring kind to a customer, looking me hard in the face all the time. My brother held a situation in Oxford Street, about fifty doors off where I was apprenticed, and I have heard him state that he has many times, at two or three o'clock in the morning, gone up to bed scarcely able to get there, and been obliged to seek relief from the pain arising from standing for so many hours by placing his feet in cold water.'[1]

Among those who have suffered, and we regret to say, in many cases, do still suffer most from unmerci-

[1] Transactions, Social Science Association for 1857, p. 549.

ful hours, dressmakers occupy a too conspicuous place. The narratives of their sufferings are often very terrible. Not only had they often continuous work for fifteen or sixteen hours a day, with hardly any time for meals, but when a pressure occurred, whole days and nights were spent in ceaseless labour. We read of fainting being so common that no notice was taken of it, the girls being left to recover as best they might. Often they had to bathe their faces and their necks in cold water to keep them awake. But for the smelling-bottle they must often have dropped down. These things were common thirty or forty years ago, but even at the present day they are not unknown.

But enough, surely, on this miserable subject. We have dwelt on it with some fulness, because we wish to show, in the clearest possible way, the horrible results of that system of neglect and indifference which reached its climax at the time to which we refer. It is an unspeakable relief to think that we are past the worst. The tide has turned, and we trust is flowing with a steady current, in the direction of humanity, sympathy, and Christian brotherhood. The passing of the Reform Bill, and the abolition of the Corn Laws, have done a great deal, beyond all doubt, in sweetening the breath of society, and promoting a kindlier feeling between rich and poor. But the great source of improved feeling, in our view,

has been the revival of that earnest, living Christianity which fills men with the spirit of their Master, and sends them to walk and work in his steps. The mantle of Him who went about continually doing good, has fallen on many of his disciples. The spirit that looks—'not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others,' has flowed into many an earnest bosom. The great law of the kingdom—'to whomsoever much is given, of them shall much be required'—has been written by the Spirit on many a fleshly tablet. The devotion of many Christian men and women to 'the work of faith and the labour of love' is one of the most beautiful sights of our age. And not only are there many individual cases of such consecration, but the prevailing tone of sentiment and feeling on this subject has been improved. Even outside the sphere of earnest Christianity, the sense of responsibility has been deepened, concern for the sufferings and temptations of the labouring masses has been evoked, and an anxiety to help them to a better and happier position has been developed. We are describing, of course, a general movement, but are very far from supposing that the movement is as yet universal, or that even those who have taken the most active part in it have done enough. But it is right to start from the position that there has been a great improvement, both in justice to those who have been exerting them-

selves, and to stimulate those who have not. The sin of neglect and indifference now, on the part of employers towards the employed, is greater by many degrees than it was last generation. It is greater, because now we can see, in the black pictures of history, the horrible fruits of that spirit. Employers, actuated by pure selfishness, driven by the unmitigated pressure of competition, and anxious only to squeeze from human thews and sinews the utmost amount of work for the smallest amount of pay, cannot shut their eyes to the horrible pandemonium which they are helping to create. The sin is greater, because men like Chalmers and Carlyle and Arnold have sounded the trumpet of warning, and in the spirit of the old prophets denounced the oppression of the poor. It is greater, because every man who is trying to do his duty is a witness against those who are neglecting it; because the number is multiplied a hundredfold of those who testify that wealth, power, and influence are not so much gifts as trusts, and that no man is more guilty than the faithless steward.

Would that it were possible to speak of the spirit of neglect and alienation as extinct! We have not yet survived the era of *strikes*,—the crowning manifestations of the spirit of alienation. A very large number of employers do nothing for their work-people, beyond paying them their wages. Many of them (as one said lately in evidence before a com-

mittee of the House of Commons), 'look upon the workmen in no other character than that of mere machines, or as they would look at a horse, and as soon as they have done with them, they get rid of them. The men think the same. They say, All that this master wants me for, is to get what he can out of me, and when he has done with me, to cast me on one side; and therefore he has no sympathy for me, and no care, except for what he can get; and why should we care for him?'[1] It is impossible for those who have not had intercourse with working people to tell how deep this feeling cuts into them—how hard such treatment is felt to be. And unfortunately, masters who make a Christian profession are not always exempt from the charge. A working man narrates to me the following, as one of those incidents that make the deepest and widest impression. A gentleman of great wealth, accustomed to ride in a splendid carriage to the house of God, a builder of churches and a donor of pulpits, had a man in his employment who, after many years, was smitten down by disease, and unable to work. His master allowed him a pension of 2s. a week, but after some time it was reduced one-half. The gentleman dying, application was made to his representatives, but the poor man was told that no instructions had been left

[1] Report of Commitee on Masters and Operatives, 1856, p. 33.

for paying the sum. Broken-hearted, he sank in a fortnight into the grave. It makes no slight demand on 'the sacred patience of the poor' to bear such treatment. We have heard of an establishment where it is the rule that any allusion to increased emolument shall be followed by instant dismissal. The Committee of the House of Commons on Masters and Operatives were told of cases 'where a grievance having occurred, a respectful requisition was presented to the masters, and the two or three persons whose names were first attached to that requisition lost their employment. We frequently hear of workmen, when they send in their requisitions, signing their names in a round-robin, as it is called, in order to prevent the master knowing who signed first.' A few years ago, a very considerable strike in London had its origin in the refusal of a builder's foreman to allow a journeyman a few days' absence, to go to Manchester to bury his mother. He pleaded for a fortnight, and would have been pleased with a week, but was told he should just have three days,—one to go, another to stay, and a third to return. He stayed four days, and on his return received what he considered insulting treatment and inferior work. The men sympathizing with him, and the masters backing the foreman, a strike ensued, on which the men spent nearly £3500.[1]

[1] Report on Masters and Operatives, p. 29.

Probably for every case in which harsh treatment is received, there are scores where the hearts of the men are chilled by the absence of all recognition or sympathy. 'I have been twenty years in my present employment,' said a steady and intelligent engraver to me lately; 'yet my master is such a person that if I were meeting him on the street he would not take the slightest notice of me.' A workman has told me that, after a very severe illness, he went one day to the shop, just to see what was doing. All that his master said to him was, that he had better go home, for he was taking up the attention of the rest. It is right that it should be made known as widely as possible how deeply these wounds penetrate the heart. And on the other hand, it should be known how salutary is the feeling, and how beneficial the effects, of even little acts of sympathy and kindness. The witness who complained of men being treated as machines, on being asked, whether, of late years, a more friendly feeling had not been growing up between masters and men, replied, 'There have been a few instances in which masters and men meet together annually, either to partake of a dinner or supper, or whatever it may be, for the purpose of conversing together. Even that does a great deal of good,—more good than the masters probably are aware of. There are several who do that. The compositors have had no dispute for many years. It

is their practice to have an annual dinner: at the dinner every one is sociable, and that feeling lasts.' How truly the children's hymn says,

> 'Little acts of kindness,
> Little deeds of love,
> Make this world an Eden,
> Like the heaven above.'

We have not yet, therefore, 'disinherited chaos,' though thankful that it can be said no longer to reign here, 'in double night of darkness and of shades.' Something has been accomplished, but much remains to be done; and, as some old writer says, we should always reckon when we have ten miles to walk, that nine are but half the way. We must gird our loins for a higher and nobler enterprise, and aim, with God's blessing, at nothing less than a relation between masters and men everywhere, pervaded by sympathy and brotherly regard on the one side, and confidence and good-will on the other. England would then rise to a sublime height of greatness and glory; and, set thus on a hill, the city could not be hid!

CHAPTER III.

FALLING INTO ORDER.

'Chaos is dark, deep as Hell; let light be, and there is instead a green flowery World. O it is great, and there is no other greatness. To make some nook of God's Creation a little fruitfuller, better, more worthy of God; to make some human heart a little wiser, manfuller, happier,—more blessed, less accursed! It is a work for a God. Sooty Hell of mutiny, and savagery, and despair, can be made a kind of Heaven; cleared of its soot, of its mutiny, of its need to mutiny; the everlasting arch of God's azure overspanning *it* too, and its cunning mechanism and tall chimney-steeples as a birth of Heaven; God and all men looking on it well pleased.'

CARLYLE.

ANY one trying to adjust and make comfortable the intercourse of masters and men in this country, must see to it, first of all, that he clearly understands the footing on which they stand to each other. On this subject there is often much confusion, arising from a tendency to blend certain features of opposite systems, which cannot be brought together in practice. The relation of employers and employed is on quite a different footing now from that on which it stood in the days of feudalism. But there is a strong inclination to import into the new system some of the characteristic features of the old. People have learned in other matters to abandon

such attempts as hopeless. No sane man fancies that all the pleasant features of stage-coach travelling can be engrafted on our railway system. No future generation of Scotchmen can ever experience the exhilarating sensations of a seat on the box, from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, in the princely days of the 'Defiance.' Only from their fathers can young people now know the many pleasant excitements of that journey; the fiery ardour of the high-mettled steeds, changed every half-hour or forty minutes; the glorious succession of scenery, with no tunnels or cuttings to interrupt the view; the merry greetings of the coachman's friends along the road; the dash at full speed down one brae and up another; and the proud, triumphant feeling with which at last you careered through Princes Street, and pulled up at the coach-office just as the clock was striking. We know that these things belonged to an old system, from which we have conclusively made up our minds, though regretfully, to part. It would be as hopeless to bring back the feudal system as to bring back the old stage-coach. It too, now and then, had its bright and pleasant features, but if we hope to reproduce them, it cannot be on the basis of feudalism. Neither in whole nor in part can the idea of that system be now realized. It is on another footing altogether that we must seek to adjust the relations of masters and men. On that new basis society

may ultimately be far better and happier than ever; but we must not put our new wine into old bottles.

So bright and attractive in its better features has the feudal system appeared to some social reformers of our day, that, a few years ago, a party was actually organized, in the hope of reviving it. The aims of this party, as well as the reasons that rendered their aspirations hopeless, are set forth in the following sentences from Miss Martineau's *History*:—'The idea of the Young England party, in regard to the condition of the people, was, that all would be well if the ancient relation between the rich and the poor could be restored; if the rich could, as formerly, take charge of the poor with a protecting benevolence, and the poor depend upon the rich in a spirit of trust and obedience. . . . . This was amiable and well intended; but it did not avail in the face of the stern truth that the great natural laws of society have dissolved the old relations between the endowed and the working classes, and brought up a wholly new order of affairs. The landed proprietor is no longer the social parent of the population on his estates,—bound to supply them with a certain quantity of food and clothing, and empowered to command a certain amount of labour in return; and much less is the town capitalist responsible for the maintenance of his neighbours. The theory of society now is, that the

labouring classes are as independent as any others; that their labour is their own disposable property, by which they may make their subsistence in any way that they think best. . . . As truly as the Reformation took men from under the dictation of the priests, and gave every man's conscience into his own charge, had the growing up of manufactures in our country taken the working classes from under the no longer practicable protection of the landed and moneyed capitalists, and compelled them to protect themselves, or perish. If they have enlightenment enough to see and rule their own destiny, they are raised to a condition far above that of the serf-like working men of old. If they have not that enlightenment, they perish.'[1]

In the course of ages, working men in this country have passed through two conditions, and are now entering, or have now entered, on a third. The first was the condition of slavery, delineated by Scott in *Ivanhoe*, when the iron collar encircled the neck, and proclaimed 'Gurth the thrall of Cedric.'[2] The second was the condition of serfdom or vassalage,

[1] Vol. II. 520, 521.

[2] So late as the thirteenth century, workmen and their families were sold in open market in some parts of England. In Bedford, in 1283, the good Abbot of Dunstable got 13s. 4d. for a slave and his family! In Scotland, even so late as 1775, the colliers were bondmen, and could not leave the estate of their masters, or rather owners, without the risk of a prosecution.

when the right of property in the slave had ceased, but as a retainer or vassal he occupied a position of dependence and subjection. It was this relation that occasionally, in favourable circumstances, used to turn out so interesting a class of dependants, that many would fain have it back again,—servants and retainers whose whole minds and hearts belonged to their master; who had not a thought or a wish of their own, apart from his interests and feelings; and who would sooner have lost their lives than done anything that would have injured or discredited him. However we may admire the spirit of fidelity and devotion that characterized this interesting class, it is needless to think that the re-establishment of a relation of childlike dependence would produce it again. Working men have entered on the third condition, that of free labourers, dependent on no man. They go into the market with their one commodity—labour—to dispose of; and in disposing of it, they no more dispose of their opinions, or their habits, or their ways of life in general, than the baker who sells you a loaf, or the clothier who supplies you with a coat. The only surrender of their freedom they will make is that which is necessary for the prosecution of their employer's work, in accordance with the arrangements he has established; and even this minimum of sacrifice they watch with most jealous eye. They are suspicious of any encroachment, real or apparent. They

will not even concede to their employer the right to hold a fatherly relation towards them, because fatherhood implies a general right of control; and such a right as that they will concede to no man. They give him their labour at the stipulated price; anything beyond that, if demanded as a right, they will resist to the last extremity. We are not, be it observed, arguing as to what ought to be, or ought not to be, but simply stating what is. We are stating a great and significant fact, to shut our eyes to which would show an utter incapacity to understand the very elements of the problem which demands solution.

But now, if this really be the state of the case, does it not put an end at once to all obligation on the part of employers to interest themselves in the general welfare of their people,—to do more than pay them the wages they have promised? In purchasing the baker's loaf, you come under no special obligation to provide a school for the baker's children; in purchasing a coat from the clothier, you do not bind yourself to erect for him a bath, or supply him with a library; you discharge your obligation when you pay to the one the price of the loaf, and to the other the price of the coat; and so, some would argue, when you purchase in free market the workman's labour, you discharge your whole debt to him when you pay him the promised wage; you are under no obligation to provide schools or baths or libraries, or any-

thing of the kind. In strict language, this is true. The employer who has made a bargain with a workman, is out of debt to the workman as soon as he has paid him his wage; nothing further is in the bond. In like manner, the workman who has rendered the promised work in exchange for the promised pay, is out of debt to his employer. He is not bound to vote for him, or for his friend, or to attend worship in deference to him, or to send his children to school, or to go to lectures, or to deposit money in the savings bank, or to do anything of the kind. No such bargain was made, and no such conditions were implied when he sold his labour. And this explains the backwardness and the suspiciousness often found to prevail among workmen, when their employer does institute plans for their benefit, and, in a too authoritative tone perhaps, expresses his desire that they should avail themselves of them. There starts up a feeling in the breast of the suspicious workman that the employer is asking something for which he never bargained,—something, too, which implies an invasion of the workman's freedom. He is thought to be claiming a right, not merely to receive the workman's labour, but to control his habits and whole mode of life. So extremely sensitive are many workmen on such points, and so difficult is it to deal with them on extraneous matters, that some employers believe it to be best simply to pay them

their wages, and abstain from all interference with them in any other matter whatever. There are even employers who have been obliged to pursue their plans of usefulness on the sly, and who have roundly affirmed that if the people had any notion that it was they who sent the missionary or the colporteur among them, these excellent functionaries would immediately find their occupation gone. An amusing burlesque on this jealousy of freedom is described by a recent traveller in the United States of America, in the case of a farm-servant near Boston, to whom his employer had no fault but one—that he always kept his hat on when he came into his master's room. In vain the master remonstrated. The servant had never engaged to take off his hat, and why should he? At last the gentleman asked him how much more wages he would take for the surrender of the privilege. After due consideration, the servant guessed it was worth a dollar a month. The dollar was given, and the privilege surrendered, but with a most complacent feeling on the part of the servant that his freedom remained inviolate!

But how then can it be made out that employers are bound to interest themselves in the general welfare of their work-people, and how can they contrive to show that interest without wounding their sensibilities and rousing their suspicions?

The obligation of employers is not different *in kind*

from the obligation lying on every man to be friendly and helpful to his brother-men, and especially that lying on all Christians, 'To do good to all men as they have opportunity.' In one sense, it is an instinct of our hearts—but the Bible has gloriously brightened the obligation—to look on our fellow-creatures as a band of brothers, for whose benefit, and not merely for our own, we are to use whatever talents or gifts of Providence or of grace we have received. It did the first murderer no good to ask, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' With his place at the very porch of the Bible, he stands in the pillory of eternal shame, a warning to all who enter, a terrible beacon to all who seek to escape from their obligations to their brother, and to wrap themselves in the mantle of selfish isolation. Whoever is placed in a position of superiority, whether of superior knowledge, superior wealth, superior strength, or superior influence, is bound to use it, if he can, for the benefit of those less favourably situated. To teach and encourage us to do so is the very reason why Providence has caused so many inequalities to exist. 'Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others,' is the Christian form of the obligation; and it is equally binding on master and servant, rich and poor, buyer and seller. The little captive maid at Damascus discharged this obligation when she told her master of the prophet in

Israel that could cure his leprosy; the outcast lepers of Samaria showed their loyalty to it, when they came into the starving city, and told how the enemy had abandoned his camp; so did the twelve apostles, so emphatically did Paul the tentmaker, when, blessed with the unsearchable riches of Christ, they went through all the world to proclaim the glad tidings to every creature. On the part of poor men, there usually has prevailed a noble readiness to admit their fellows to the benefit of any talent committed to their trust: shall it be said that men high in station shrink from the obligation which the poor acknowledge;—that in their secret hearts they would make this the rule: 'To whom *much* is given, of them shall *little* be required?'

Besides this general obligation to do good to all as we have opportunity, there is a special duty to 'our neighbour,' applicable to the case of employers. The man with whom we come into contact even occasionally has a stronger claim on us than the man whom we never see. If even his sheep has fallen into a pit, we are bound to help it out—and how much better is a man than a sheep? If we are on a journey, and see some one lying in the ditch, wounded, robbed, and helpless, it would show the very spirit of Cain to pass by on the other side. How much more are we bound to show kindness and perform all neighbourly offices to those with whom

every day we are in closest contact? Those who are working under one roof, carrying our burdens, or getting hurt or unwell, or feeble or aged in our service,—*who* are our neighbours if they are not? If in any way our experience can benefit them, if our kindly encouragement can nerve them in hours of weakness and temptation for life's sore battle, if our words of love can soothe the sorrows of broken hearts, if our testimony to a Saviour's grace can draw them to the cross, and save their souls for ever, what can excuse us for acting the part of the priest and the Levite? There is a subtle spirit of unwillingness to recognise one's duty towards one's own special circle that must be guarded against. I have been told of a great manufacturer in England, who stands almost unrivalled in his trade, a benevolent, intelligent Christian too, who is doing good everywhere, *except in his own manufactory*. Just as if the Jew in our Lord's time had helped any man's ox or ass out of a pit, *except his neighbour's*, or as if that good Samaritan had sent out his colporteurs and commissionnaires to pour oil on wounded travellers everywhere, *except the poor man he fell in with on the way to Jericho!*

Still more are we bound to try to do good to those to whom we stand in a relation that gives us weight and influence. The world is far from having reached that lofty eminence, where good advice will have

equal weight, come from what quarter it may. The average human heart is not like a balance that moves up and down with equal readiness, and with equal correctness, whether it be an emperor or a beggar that throws the weights into the scale. When it is wished to turn the balance of the human heart, much depends not only on the advice given, but the person who gives it,—not only on the weights, but the hand that throws them in. We do not forget that in the highest kind of good, the feeblest instruments are often made more efficient than the strongest, to prevent man from glorying in man. Much less would we have any one in a high position to dream that because his natural influence is great, he does not stand in need of higher help to bless his efforts. But other things being equal, we maintain that in virtue of his position, the employer has a special weight and influence with his work-people, which makes his duty and his responsibility the greater. It is only in a distorted and diseased state of things, that advice from an employer will have less than ordinary weight. In the normal and ordinary state, it will be quite the other way. Once let him succeed, if unfortunately he has been an object of suspicion, in showing that he is animated by a sincere desire to promote the welfare of his people, and the fact that he is the master will lend great weight to his endeavours. Attention will be drawn to the plans which he is

known to favour, and should he enlist others in the good work, whether from among his own people or from without, their influence will be greatly strengthened by his support. The thing does not need to be argued out; it is established by all experience. The efforts of good men struggling to elevate a labouring population with hostile or indifferent employers, can only resemble those tides which are produced when the attraction of the sun is opposed to that of the moon. Under hearty employers, the two attractions are combined, and the tide rises to its highest level.

The necessity for which we now argue, of recognising the free position of the British workman of the nineteenth century, in any plans devised for his elevation, may admit of some modification in a few exceptional cases, and in some does not exist at all. In the case of apprentices, for example, and young people of the apprentice age, the relation of inferiority is admitted on both sides, and for this reason the duty of the employer to protect and instruct them, and to watch over their general conduct and training, is all the stronger and more direct. In the case of the agricultural population, and in the case too of those who are engaged in domestic service, it is more difficult to get quit of the old feudal notion of a general subjection, and to establish their right, in matters not included in the specific bargain made

with them, to have a will and a way of their own. But the very restlessness which, as a class, farm-labourers and domestic servants show at the present day, and the very frequency of the changes they make, as if determined to evince their dislike to the position of retainers in any one family, may show any sensible master or mistress, that in matters not included in the bargain, it is vain to hope to influence them by any attempted exercise of authority, and that much more good is likely to come from kindly dealing, from neighbourly and friendly remonstrance and warning, and from the earnest pleadings and prayers of Christian love. The relations of employer and employed, in these cases, are extremely delicate, and it is most painful to see how much mischief is often done on both sides; how many servants are destroyed by the rude handling of their employers, and how many employers are discouraged by the blind perversity of their servants.

Quite enough, we believe, has now been said to show that in devising and carrying out plans for the benefit of work-people, it is essential to have regard to that sense of freedom which is so strong a characteristic of the class at the present day. We go on to remark that it is not less essential to have regard to their *self-reliance;* to steer clear of every course that would countenance the notion that their elevation is to be accomplished by the efforts of their employers,

or that it is to be accomplished by any efforts independent of their own. On this subject, some employers have their temptations, and some workmen have their unreasonable expectations. A rich employer may find it easier on the whole to do certain things for his work-people, than to encourage and patiently train them to do these things for themselves. His bounty may take a form that, instead of stimulating forethought and economy, tends to make them thoughtless and wasteful. And they, on the other hand, with the false notions that often prevail of the boundless resources of persons who enjoy a large income, may fancy that it is the employer's duty to provide for them in seasons of scarcity, maintain them in sickness, extricate them from every difficulty,—in short, bear for them the whole burden of the anxiety and worry of life. But it does not seem to us that this is now a common feeling among workmen. The conviction has become deep and strong among all the thinking part of them, that if they are to be raised, they must not depend on any other class, but, by God's help, raise themselves. Hugh Miller's two levers have come to assume in their eyes the importance which truly belongs to them,—SELF-RELIANCE and SELF-CONTROL. Their own industry, their own economy, their own justice, fidelity, integrity, and honour, their own intelligence, their own temperance, their own trustworthiness, are

the instruments, under God, that must raise them, —their own, we mean, as contrasted with those of other men, but not their own, but God's, in relation to their ultimate source. Raised they feel they never can be, in any noble sense or to any true purpose, if they only be made more comfortable, if they undergo no higher change than falls to the lot of pigs or cattle, when they have more straw in their lair, or better food in their trough. They have got too clear a sight of what constitutes the true worth and dignity of man to be satisfied with merely a larger provision for their animal wants. In vain would all the employers in the kingdom try to make their men stand erect, if their men did not try to stand erect themselves. In vain would all the philanthropists in the world combine to push them up the heights of true advancement, if they did not with hearty good-will apply their own energies to the task. What employers must aim at is, not to supersede the exertions of their people, but to enlighten, guide, encourage, and help their people to raise themselves. And the more the plans of employers are directed to this object, the more worthy are they of confidence and imitation. It is not all gold that glitters, and those employers who spend most money are not always those who do most good.

We proceed now to treat shortly of the kind of measures that, keeping in view the considerations

that have been advanced, employers may most advantageously adopt, in order to promote the welfare of those whom they employ.

To begin, then, with what concerns the *physical* welfare of the workers. It is surely a Christian duty for employers to provide that their work shall be carried on under the conditions most favourable to the preservation of human health and vigour. In large factories, provision is now made by law for due ventilation, and the low ceilings and confined air that were formerly so common are not met with in modern factories. But in smaller establishments, and especially those which are not under public inspection, the ventilation is often most wretched. For hours upon hours, a miserably polluted atmosphere is breathed; headache, sickness, languor, and ailments of more terrible form, are constantly the result; in many persons, the seeds of consumption are sown in such places; in many more, through feebleness of the body, the vigour of soul that would have battled with difficulties and temptations wastes away; they lie down before the enemy, or fly to strong drink to brace up the energies that carbonic acid gas has impaired. It is fearful to think of the wreck and ruin both of physical and moral health that is constantly occurring from this cause, and of the terrible guilt of those employers who, for the sake of a small imaginary gain,—it can never be real,—continue a

state of things which is not less mischievous than if some evil spirit on the premises were ever breathing poison and pestilence on every side.

In many ways employers may find methods of promoting bodily health, and at the same time fostering the virtues that are connected with it. Evidently one of their most earnest endeavours should be that their work-people be properly lodged. It may not always be the employer's duty to erect houses at his own cost, but beyond all reasonable doubt it is alike his interest and his duty to promote judicious schemes for this most necessary end. Building societies are now so common and so successful that workmen have become quite accustomed to the once monstrous idea of building houses for themselves. But the experience and influence of employers may greatly facilitate the establishment and prosperous working of such societies, while their personal influence, brought to bear on their workmen, may stimulate many a one who would not otherwise have had the enterprise to join such a society and become a householder for himself. Baths, playgrounds, and allotment gardens will also attract the favour of employers anxious to promote the health of their people. Cooking-depôts, on the model of those in such successful operation in Glasgow, Birmingham, Leicester, and elsewhere, will be eagerly promoted wherever the population is large enough to afford a

reasonable hope of success. In large works, where many of the people necessarily live at a distance, and have no time to go home to meals, an apartment will be provided, fitted up with the necessary apparatus for enabling the work-people to take their meals with comfort. It is hardly possible to view such measures simply as the fruits of benevolence; the interests of the master, as well as his Christian duty, urge him to attend to them; it is so much more pleasant to him to see his people taking their meals in a comfortable room, instead of hanging about in all manner of odd and uncomfortable corners, and he is so much more likely to have his work well done when his people are in robust health than when they are sickly and starved, that we can hardly give him credit for pure philanthropy when advancing the prosperity of such undertakings.

In many works it is now very common for employers to give their work-people an annual entertainment in winter, and a holiday for an excursion in summer. In many instances, both have been productive of happy results, but in perhaps an equal number they have caused disappointment and grief. The reason is sufficiently obvious. Work-people are accustomed during the long hours and days of labour to so much restraint, that when a holiday comes, they are apt to start, like an unbent bow, into all the excesses of freedom. What is needed, to make excur-

sions both agreeable and useful, is the presence, let us say, of some member of the firm and his family; or of some one for whom all have respect and affection, through whose influence a certain measure of self-control is still felt by the people to be right and necessary, while, if he be a genial man, the excursion will be more thought of, and more enjoyed. We are acquainted with employers who have themselves accompanied such excursions, and both enjoyed them personally, and greatly increased the enjoyment of the rest. They possess the happy knack of making the people feel at home, and enjoy themselves with all the freedom that can be desired; and yet of exercising a quiet influence that has prevented any ebullition of boisterous mirth or wild intemperance. Through such excursions and social gatherings, employers may educate their people to most valuable habits; not merely developing sympathy between classes too apt to be antagonistic, but showing them how there may be social enjoyment without intemperance, and convivial festivities that leave no sting behind.

The promotion of *provident habits* is another of those objects which a wise Christian employer will earnestly seek to encourage. The wastefulness and improvidence of a multitude of workmen is a proverb and a byword. It cannot be out of place for the payer of the wages to endeavour, in a friendly

way, to enlighten and guide his people on this point. The time when wages are paid is the very time when temptations to waste and extravagance come in like a flood. It is a natural opportunity to speak of the Savings Bank, the Provident Society, the Deferred Annuity, or the Building Club. Employers will find an easy door to usefulness in this way, through the apprentices and young workmen that may belong to their establishment. If a spirit of confidence and respect prevail between master and men, it cannot but be felt to be most suitable for the master to use his influence for enlightening the young and inexperienced on the value of money, the ways in which it is wasted, and the ways in which it may be improved. We can hardly fancy a jealousy that would look askance on the endeavour of an employer to point out to the apprentice, when verging on the journeyman, how at some periods of life his earnings are larger than his necessary expenditure, and at others his necessary expenditure larger than his earnings; and to counsel him, as Joseph counselled Pharaoh, to make the early years of plenty available for the later years of want. Certainly the lesson may be one of extraordinary value; the habits of forethought and economy thus engendered, besides preventing long dismal chapters of want and misery, may keep many a one in times of prosperity from pouring his earnings into the gulf of sensuality, whom

more spiritual considerations might not have availed to restrain.

To promote the *intellectual* improvement of work-people, many methods are available, which will be found appropriate to different circumstances. Day schools for the young are now imperative by Act of Parliament on the employers of youthful labour in most factories; but even where not imperative, they will be warmly encouraged by all employers who have at heart the welfare of their people. Night classes, both for young men and young women—separate of course,—are extremely desirable for the sake of those who have begun to work very early, and received at ordinary schools but a very imperfect education. The reading-room and library are most important appendages to large works, but the taste for what they furnish needs to be somewhat stimulated and drawn out. Lectures, illustrated if possible by diagrams, models, or experiments, readings from interesting books, interspersed with snatches of music, and simple and harmless games, like chess, bagatelle, and draughts, add greatly to the attractions of such institutions, and fit them for coping more effectually, in the case of the less earnest class of people, with the public-house or the tavern. Much may be done through colporteurs, or even through overseers, for encouraging healthy literature, for introducing books and periodicals calculated both to interest and in-

struct the people. Where one master has several works in different places, the same books, by being transferred in succession from one to another, may be made to do duty at all. To all these institutions, employers may give their countenance and aid without damage to the self-reliance of their people; for in almost every case a payment will have to be made by the members; and the obvious tendency of the institutions themselves is to quicken, not to deaden, the spirit of self-improvement.

We come now to the most important, difficult, and delicate question of all—how Christian employers may best promote the moral and religious welfare of their people. Perhaps we may best introduce the subject by mentioning the various plans which we have found to be resorted to by different employers of earnest spirit. A few have built or fitted up chapels in connexion with their works, where personally they preach the gospel to such of their people as will attend. In connexion with some works, there are daily prayer-meetings, conducted by the proprietors or by some of the overseers, and sometimes aided by Christian ministers in the neighbourhood. Through the Sunday-school and the Bible-class, not a few employers endeavour to come personally into contact, on the most vital subjects, with the younger portion of their people. In several large

works chaplains are employed, morning service is regularly conducted, domestic visits are paid, classes for religious instruction are set on foot, and every method available to the Christian pastor is employed to guide both old and young in the ways of the Lord. Other employers make use of the services of a catechist or lay-missionary, whose work is chiefly domiciliary, but who also conducts Bible-classes and small prayer-meetings. Some masters encourage the well-disposed of their people to hold meetings among themselves, and to endeavour to draw their fellow-workmen, by means of them, to give heed to their spiritual duties. To some, a neighbouring church or chapel appears the most likely fulcrum for Christian operations among their people, and all encouragement is given to the clergyman and his fellow-workers to direct their energies to them. Some find the Bible-woman and the colporteur the most suitable agents for good. I have also met with cases in which the master or manager had no specific plans for the religious welfare of the work-people, but steadily tried, nevertheless, by quiet means, to give the place a religious tone, and make it a nursery of the Christian life. 'I try,' said an excellent manager in the west of Scotland to me, 'to make our work a place where Christian men may feel at home. I should have a great horror at the thought of a good man being persecuted or laughed at in our work. Hence I make it my

endeavour to select Christian men as foremen of the different departments—not men of the *speaking* but of the *working* type,—consistent, steady men, who will discourage ungodliness, and quietly forward all that is good.' I could not help thinking how much Christian wisdom there was in this plan. The gentleman referred to, while he has proved himself a fearless champion of truth when occasion demanded, furnishes, in his own dealings with his people, a very beautiful illustration of the influence of a consistent Christian spirit. Going on the principle of looking on the people as partakers of the same nature with himself, lower steps in the same stair, and not, like many, as an inferior creation, he treats them with gentleness and candour. When an error has been committed, he waits to hear the workman's explanation, presuming that the blunder has not been caused by utter carelessness, and feeling that in any case it is the worst policy to scold before inquiring. There is a wonderful contagion in a gentle spirit; it spreads like leaven from master and foremen throughout the work. Under its influence, swearing and other coarse vices die of consumption. When such a master avails himself of the opportunities that arise from time to time for talking to the men on spiritual subjects, his words fall on their hearts with singular power. They are felt not to be words of course or form, but of real meaning, echoed

by their own consciences, and not to be neglected without inexcusable guilt.

I cannot conclude this chapter without drawing special attention to a personal quality of wonderful efficacy in inspiring men with confidence and esteem towards those who occupy higher spheres,—I mean, the manifestation of a personal interest in them, and of personal feelings of kindness towards them. It will not do for employers to stand on their dignity, to stand on their lofty pedestal, and from thence throw down their bounties on their people, with however lavish a hand. It will not do for them to content themselves with building libraries or institutes, or baths or churches, at whatever expense, and never mingle with their people in kindly intercourse, nor let out one solitary manifestation of fellow-feeling towards them. It would be no difficult matter to fill a volume with proofs of the marvellous charm there is in the spirit of personal interest, the spirit that takes personal trouble. Just as I write these words, I happen to glance at a daily paper, and in a letter from a foreign correspondent, I find a description of the captain of a war-vessel, in discipline the sternest despot that ever ruled a crew, and yet the idol of his men, because it is he that when they are in hospital makes kindly visits to them with grapes and lemons and soothing draughts, and writes their letters to parents and friends, and has withal a heart as

brave as it is kind and true. I remember meeting in a large town a number of wealthy employers who had laid out much money for the benefit of their people, but had stood aloof from their homes and hearts, and who were grumbling not a little because their beneficence had not been appreciated. Soon after, I was in the house of a zealous Christian worker, in the middle rank of life, who could only say to the poor of the neighbourhood, Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have, in the form of personal Christian interest in you all, and personal sacrifices, cheerfully made for your sakes, I freely give; and literally the house was crowded with memorials of the gratitude and devotion of the people.

The great difficulty in the way of many employers, who might desire to become personally acquainted with their people, lies, of course, in the immense number that many have under them. How could one man ever become acquainted with three, four, ten, or even twenty or thirty thousand people; or, supposing he should go through the form of shaking hands with them all, what real benefit would such a ceremony bring? But would it not be possible for such employers to have a selected body, consisting, in addition to those having a charge, of the workers that had been longest in their employment? With these old servants of the firm, might they not with great propriety and pleasure come into personal

contact, and by infusing their own spirit into them, use them, as Dr. Arnold used his sixth form, for infusing that spirit through the whole establishment? Where there's a will there's a way. Joseph Sturge of Birmingham was one of the busiest of men, full of work, public and private; nevertheless he contrived to become personally acquainted with some seventy or eighty families of work-people employed by him upwards of fifty miles from his own house, visiting them at their houses, talking to their wives and children, entering with them into their struggles and trials, and without destroying their independence or self-respect, aiding them in every suitable way. A friend who once accompanied him in a visit to a sick child in an uninviting cottage, speaks with great admiration of the exhibition on this occasion of the Christian gentleness of his character. Strikes were unknown, as might have been anticipated, among his work-people, and a very happy relation prevailed between masters and men.

In great works, employing hundreds and thousands, more than can well be told depends on the foremen. We have heard of the most dreadful and shameful profligacy existing in certain mills, and also on farms in the country, where young women were under bad men as overseers—cases quite sufficient to give force to the cry that has been raised, that wherever young females are employed, there ought to be matrons of

high character to counsel and protect them. Instances of this kind, we should fain hope, must be rare, but instances of cruelty, unfairness, favouritism and bribery, on the part of unworthy overseers, are not so seldom met with. The position of an overseer is not an easy one. It demands a combination of cleverness, patience, and high principle that is not very frequently met with. Where the employer in appointing an overseer looks to nothing but his apparent capacity to serve his immediate interests, he commits at once a blunder and a crime. Where a swearing, drinking, storming foreman is set over young and old, the master or the manager must be held responsible for the moral havoc which such a monster commits. In all well-conditioned works, the foremen are selected with care, not merely for their excellence as workers, but also for their excellence as men. The formula that Jethro gave Moses in the wilderness for appointing officers—'able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness,' —has never yet been surpassed. Thank God, there are not a few such men filling the office of overseers in the large establishments of this country. Many of them are the salt of the earth, doing a blessed work, and exercising a very precious influence. It is not always that they are duly appreciated by their masters. It is not always the master knows what he owes to the prayers and the labours of his godly

subordinate. And it is not always that overseers themselves know their influence. The day that shall witness a universal sense of responsibility among overseers, and a universal desire to use their influence for all good, will be one of the brightest that has ever dawned on the world of labour.

CHAPTER IV.

MILLS AND FACTORIES IN ENGLAND.

'What we masters want is not any beautiful theory of our relation to our people, but some practical means of overcoming the enormous difficulties which there are in the way of really getting into a proper relation to them.'

J. P. Wilson.

OF all plans that have been set in operation for the benefit of factory work-people, none surpass in interest or in beauty those connected with Price's Candle Company, London. This company has no particular connexion, as the name would seem to indicate, with any individual of the name of Price, but is a joint-stock association, carrying on the manufacture of those elegant and useful articles which have done so much, even where gas is not used, to supersede 'the light that's bred from stinking tallow.' The company, much to its honour, has had a twofold connexion with the cause of philanthropy,—one in the tropics, and one in England. The lighters moored at the water edge close to the factory, from which great barrels of palm-oil are swung into the

warehouse to be made into candles, have been humorously called 'The African Blockading Squadron,' because, as a writer in *Fraser's Magazine* observed, 'it pays his Mighty Highness Jambo-jibbery-Jee better to set his niggers to work making palm-oil, than to sell them as slaves.' The connexion with philanthropy in England has been formed by a system of schools, cricket-fields, religious services, tea-parties, excursions, baths, and other appliances, carried on with wonderful zeal and self-denial by one of the managing directors, Mr. James P. Wilson, and enjoying a career of singular brilliancy and usefulness, until unhappily, through the combined effect of commercial difficulties and religious dissensions, an arrest was laid upon them, and many of them had to be abandoned.

Mr. Wilson was led to interest himself in the moral and religious improvement of the people in his factory, by reading the Life of the late Dr. Arnold of Rugby. That distinguished man, it is well known, was intensely interested in the condition of the working masses of England, and nearly heart-broken at the spirit of alienation which separated rich and poor around him, and which was continually breaking out, on the part of the latter, in most lamentable explosions of discontent and violence. His correspondence is full of dismal forebodings of social ruin to the country if this state of things should continue,

and of earnest appeals to all who had influence with the masses, to lend their energies to the task of trying, by generous Christian treatment, to inspire them with a better spirit and higher aims. Mr. Wilson was greatly struck, too, with the earnestness and heartiness with which Arnold devoted himself to his school, and particularly with the personal interest he took in his boys, and the counsel he gave to schoolmasters, 'to take life in earnest, and enter on the schooling heartily.' He became convinced that the master of a factory in which many young people were employed, might render very efficient service in the cause of social Christianity, and was thus led to begin a series of operations in which, through the blessing of God, he seemed to be guided to the very best measures by which an employer may advance at once the temporal and the spiritual welfare of the people whom he employs.

The schools began in a very humble way, by half a dozen of the boys hiding themselves behind a bench two or three times a week, after they had done their day's work and had their tea, to practise writing on scraps of paper, with worn-out pens begged from the counting-house. The foreman encouraged them, and got some rough movable desks made for them; the manager of the *factory*, Mr. George Wilson, gave them some prizes; and Mr. J. P. Wilson countenanced their operations by his presence, and some-

times by hearing a few of the most backward their spelling. When the half-dozen had increased to thirty, an old building was gutted and fitted up as a schoolroom, and in the winter of 1848, the primitive, self-conducted class passed into a school governed by authority. Before this change was made, the practice of closing the meetings with prayer had been begun by the boys themselves.

Other schools, both day and night, were presently added, for one of which a somewhat unusual schoolroom was provided,—a railway arch adjoining the factory. The number in attendance at the various schools, when inspected by the Directors in March 1852, was 512.

To increase attendance on the schools, it was resolved to associate a harmless pleasure with them, and in 1849 tea-parties began to be given to the scholars. Many of the boys had never been accustomed to dress tidily or neatly, and felt so awkward at the first tea-party, side by side with those who came in neat, clean clothes, that they resolved to turn over a new leaf, and took to neat clothing for life. The boys too who were not attending school, felt it a privation not to be at the tea-parties, and many of them, through this cause, now began to attend.

In the same year, a new branch of operations had its origin in an appalling cause. The grim visage of cholera, frowning frightfully over the neighbourhood

of Battersea and Vauxhall, set the manager a-thinking by what means, physical and moral, the putrid breath of the pestilence might be prevented from striking on his charge. Of physical safeguards, the most likely appeared to be, abundant exercise in the open air. A cricket-field was promptly rented; and great pains were taken to instruct and interest the lads and men in the game. As the field was of large size, little gardens were allotted to them at the sides; and the measure was so successful in its immediate object, that only one death from cholera occurred among them, although many lost relations living in the same houses with themselves.

Next year, 1850, witnessed the first of the summer excursions. At half-past six, on a midsummer Saturday morning, Mr. Wilson, accompanied by one hundred of his boys and men, started for Guildford, returning at nine at night. It was a beautiful day, and one of thorough enjoyment. They strolled about the beautiful country in the neighbourhood of Guildford, played a cricket match, and in the middle of the day, the clergyman of a little church on the top of one of the hills, with a lovely view round it, came and did his part of the service, the boys chanting theirs. This service, says Mr. Wilson, was a quiet and resting pleasure, in such a place, between the more active pleasures of the day. The country formed such a contrast, in its quietness and extreme beauty,

to all the common life of these boys, and introduced them into such a new world of ideas and feelings, that if they were to live to ninety, it seemed impossible that they should ever forget that day. The next year's excursion was on a grander scale. Two hundred and fifty started from Vauxhall Bridge, to proceed by steamer to Herne Bay. Not one in ten had ever seen the sea. The excursion was highly successful; and even the half-hour of sea-sickness in returning was soon forgotten, except in those more comical aspects which make even the horrors of sea-sickness a fruitful source of after amusement.

The manager of the Company was, however, too wise and too good a man either to limit his efforts to the physical welfare of his people, or to fancy that the physical would necessarily secure the moral. The cultivation of a devotional spirit was his incessant aim. Always, when the game of cricket was ended, the boys collected in a corner of the field, and took off their caps for a very short prayer for the safety from cholera of themselves and their friends. They also met every morning in the schoolroom at six o'clock, before beginning work, just for a few minutes, to give thanks for having been safely brought to the beginning of the day, and to pray to be defended in it. A morning service for the boys had its origin in this way, and also a similar service for those employed in the counting-house. One of the men in

the place having been drowned, and other three nearly so, a daily service for the men was begun. By and by it was found desirable to commence Sunday services, and in 1850 a chapel was licensed and opened. The majority of the boys were found to be negligent of the Lord's day, and the same was true of their parents. In the chapel the boys filled the galleries; and the girls, and also a good many of the men and their families, sat below. The neighbours filled any space that was not occupied by the factory people. At first, no charge was made for sittings, but very soon a small pew-rent was paid,—strangers paying double what was paid by the people of the factory; and the effect of the change was very favourable to the congregation.

For some time these interesting operations were carried on at the responsibility of the managers, and almost at the sole expense of Mr. James Wilson. But in the beginning of 1852 the attention of the Directors was turned to the subject, and a full and most interesting report was submitted by them to the annual general meeting on 18th March. The reception of the report and the whole proceedings of the meeting were most interesting. By three separate votes it was agreed (with but one dissentient voice out of some seventy present, representing nearly 500 shareholders) to allow £900 a year for carrying on the educational operations, £300 a year for the

religious services, and to authorize the Directors to reimburse Mr. Wilson for all his previous outlay. Determined not to be outdone in generosity, Mr. Wilson declared his intention to devote the money it was proposed to repay him (upwards of £3000) to the erection of buildings for carrying out his plans.

The proceedings of the shareholders' meeting had a very happy effect on the work-people themselves. A hearty meeting was held by them, in which sentiments of a most genial and pleasing nature were expressed, and a pledge taken 'individually and unitedly most heartily to exert our efforts to promote in every way the interests of the Company.' A mutual improvement society started into existence under charge of some of the men, and when one of them was asked what made them think of it, he replied, that the atmosphere of the place was now so changed, that when they saw such anxiety manifested for their improvement, they could not help trying to improve themselves. About eight months after the meeting, the two managing directors, Messrs. James and George Wilson, wrote a letter suggesting various additional plans for the benefit of the factories. It was proposed, should the profit of the year prove favourable, to vote a fortnight's extra pay to each of the clerks and foremen, and a week's to every other person in the works; to make the Saturday half-holiday a real one, and not merely, as formerly,

nominal; to grant a fortnight's wages and leave of absence to such of their people as might seem to need rest, for holidays in the country; to get a place of their own at the seaside where such persons might be cared for; to provide a plain breakfast for the boys that worked over night; to subscribe a penny a week for every person in their employment to a sick fund; to provide baths and other washing arrangements; cooking accommodation, and a good room for meals; an open-air reading place for Sunday afternoons in summer; to subsidize the mutual improvement societies, and to institute a savings bank. The total money cost of these proposals was, in name at least, several thousand pounds. The Directors cordially agreed to all of them, and at a special meeting of proprietors, their recommendation was concurred in, with but two dissentients.

It was of great importance to these experiments that the Directors were so cordial and the Company so liberal. But the personal influence and almost incredible devotion of Mr. James Wilson was the great cause of success. It could not be doubted by the work-people that a master who would come into the school and hear the very youngest of the scholars their spelling-lesson, who would organize for them schoolrooms and cricket-fields and swimming-baths, and gardens and excursions, who would join in their sports, go with them on their excursions,

speak to them at their tea-meetings, write them letters of excellent and earnest counsel, kneel with them at prayer, and encourage them in the formation of societies for self-improvement, had a true and earnest desire for their welfare. Unlocked by the key of sympathy, their hearts were readily gained. We cannot but be struck, too, by the judicious combination of measures which Mr. Wilson adopted. Never forgetting that till human beings are brought to God all other improvement is superficial and ephemeral, he laboured very earnestly for this great end, but at the same time bore in mind that man's is a complex nature, and that it is simply mischievous to neglect all provision for even the lighter and more trifling of his tastes and cravings. Successful to a very large degree his operations were. The spirit that prevailed in the factory was a cordial and earnest desire on the part of all to promote the interests of the Company. The proprietors were deeply impressed by this consideration. The Company was a commercial one, with the usual love of large profits, dividends, and sinking funds: but the sums appropriated for the improvement of the work-people were voted with unwonted cordiality, and a sentiment of delight prevailed at the proof that would be given to the world that joint-stock companies had consciences, and could act towards their 'hands' without forgetting that those hands had human hearts and immor-

tal souls. The letters of congratulation that poured in on the manager were legion. Candlemakers and clergymen, soldiers and sailors, lawyers and bishops, factory inspectors and personal friends, vied with each other in expressing their delight; it seemed as if a great social problem had been solved triumphantly, and that those who had dreaded above all things the effect of a spirit of alienation between masters and men might now breathe freely, and rest in peace.

One thing, however, must strike every thoughtful student of these plans,—they were carried on at very great expense. They were sanctioned in the flush of prosperity, at a time when the Company was enjoying a vast expansion of its business, and almost fabulous increase of its profits, and when the wave of prosperity was strong enough to bear them on its bosom. But when the tide turned, when difficulties succeeded prosperity, when diminished or even annihilated dividends chilled the ardour of shareholders, the philanthropic grants came to be viewed with a less friendly eye. Unhappily, too, a difference of opinion sprung up between Mr. Wilson and the Directors, in connexion with some proceedings that had taken place in the chapel with a view to promote the revival of religion. The consequence was that the operations were greatly curtailed; and though the Company still holds an honourable place among those who seek to

promote the welfare of their work-people, it has lost its noble pre-eminence, nor can its history be so well appealed to as the *experimentum crucis*, the great solvent of the problem of employers and employed.

Some years ago, the Candle Company began a branch factory at Bromborough Pool, in the neighbourhood of Birkenhead. Taking possession of a new district, where no sufficient accommodation could be found for a large working population, they very properly built a village of excellent and airy dwelling-houses, about eighty in number, all of which are occupied by their work-people, at a rental of three-and-sixpence a week and upwards. The appearance of this village is exceedingly pleasing. In the middle of a large open space in the centre stand the school-rooms, forming a substantial building, reared at an expense of £2000, three-fourths of which was contributed by the Company. The dwelling-houses are neat and substantial, each having a garden attached to it, rendering each home more lovable, and affording healthful occupation of an evening for time that might otherwise be devoted to the public-house. A horticultural show stimulates the gardening energies of the people, and has had something to do, very likely, with a small glass house where apricots and peaches are reared, and with such experiments as I found one of the men trying, who was rearing potatoes from seed, in the hope of obtaining fresh

varieties. A co-operative store obtains general support, and enjoys prosperity. A small flour-mill belonging to the co-operators is worked at the factory, and produces a considerable saving to the members.

The benevolent efforts of the Company at Bromborough owe very much to one of the proprietors, who, while nominally holding the office, and performing the duties of chaplain, has thrown himself into the work with extraordinary heartiness, mainly as a labour of love. The school of 'muscular Christianity' can have few better representatives than Mr. Hampson, though even under him the operations carried on seem to have fully more of the adjective than the substantive—the 'muscular' undoubtedly preponderating. The cricket club has reached the position of the second in Cheshire, not without much effort on his part, rendered necessary by the great difficulty of getting working men to realize the idea of excelling—the possibility of men who work for their daily bread being as good cricketers as gentlemen. The Volunteers number no less than seventy, and there is a volunteer band, consisting largely of lads who when boys were taken from the workhouse, and brought up at Mr. Hampson's expense, all his energy being required for the task of endeavouring to drive out of them the evil qualities of a workhouse training, and to inspire them with the spirit which their countenances indicate, of manly, honest, indus-

trious young men. The summer excursions of the factory have sometimes been on an unusual scale; on two occasions some twenty of the younger men have spent some days among the Lakes of Westmoreland, along with the chaplain or the manager. Many of the people speak of Mr. Hampson in terms of the highest love and esteem; and the interest which he has manifested in the cause of the people has not been limited to Bromborough; a neighbouring and somewhat neglected village, through his exertions, has been recently provided with an excellent school, allotment gardens, a vegetable and flower show, and a spacious yard and furniture for gymnastic exercises.

We pass now to another species of factories—the great spinning and weaving establishments of the country.

Our first instance—connected with the cotton-spinning trade—is unhappily an affair not of the present but the past. On the North Shore, in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, there stood, some years ago, the only cotton mill that the great sea-port of the west could boast of. Since the time to which we are about to refer, it has been burnt down and rebuilt, and the building, we believe, is now used for another purpose. Twenty years ago it attracted the attention of the eminent Inspector of Factories, Mr. Leonard Horner, who in his report to Government,

dated 26th November 1845, called special notice to the admirable arrangements devised and carried out by the managing partner, Mr. R. Ford North, for the comfort and moral improvement of the work-people. Mr. North was very unwilling that his name should be given to the public in connexion with his plans, and even wondered that it should be needful to make such proceedings public at all; 'if those interested in such establishments were but aware how much exquisite gratification to themselves is derivable from the performance of their duty to their work-people, they would not need any urging from without.' Mr. North and his partners yielded to Mr. Horner's urgency only on the ground 'that many masters would gladly improve the condition of their people, if they knew of any practical mode of doing so, and that while they might laugh at plans suggested by mere good intentions, without being supported by examples, they would take a very different view when an instance could be produced of the successful working of arrangements in an establishment similarly circumstanced as their own.'

The staff of workers in the North Shore Mill, when Mr. North assumed the management, was, I have understood, an exceedingly rough one. Of about 800 'hands' that had been engaged a short time before, when the mill was begun, one large share were raw Irish, and another were the scum of the

Preston spinners, engaged that they might teach the Irish how to spin. A number of cottages occupied by them were in so filthy a condition that a cup might have been filled with vermin from the walls; at the end of two years, Mr. North told me, there was hardly a bed in any of them where any one might not have slept with comfort.

After mentioning the arrangements adopted for promoting the people's health, especially in the case of accidents, Mr. North, in his statement furnished to Mr. Horner, proceeds to notice the schoolroom, a large, well ventilated apartment, attended during the day by about 200 children, partly employed in the mill, and partly not, and open also at night, when forty or fifty names on the books produced a somewhat irregular attendance. The arrangements for religious instruction are then detailed. At the Sunday-school, open on Sunday morning from nine to eleven, 'the number of scholars varies from 300 to 330. Two separate rooms are appropriated to male and female adults, who generally feel a repugnance to being classed with younger persons. The instruction is given by seventy teachers, *all volunteers from among the overlookers and others employed in the mill;* some attending on alternate Sundays, others attending every Sunday, one of the proprietors, the manager and bookkeeper, acting as superintendent and secretary. . . .

'After the school is closed, and a quarter of an hour's interval, the Church service, curtailed so as not to exceed an hour and a quarter (including a short practical sermon, selected from such published works as seem best adapted for the purpose), is read in the schoolroom by one of the proprietors to an assemblage of from 300 to 400 persons, chiefly inhabitants of the adjoining cottages, and comprising the greater part of the scholars themselves and their teachers; among whom are some very creditable singers and instrumental performers.'

The reason why Mr. North preferred to hold this service in the schoolroom, rather than have the children taken to the nearest church, is explained to have been, partly that the parents of many of the children being Dissenters, objection would have been taken to their going to church, but no objection was made to this service; and partly that the ordinary Church service was so long, that after two hours in the Sunday-school, the attention of the children would have been more than exhausted.

'It is always found,' Mr. North continues in his paper, 'that those who are the most regular in their attendance at the school and subsequent service, are always the best conducted hands in the mill, earn the most wages, and make the best use of them.'

A lending library, a brass-band, and a savings bank were connected with this mill. Five per cent.

interest was allowed by the proprietors on undisturbed deposits of six months—an arrangement which was accompanied with excellent results. All fines levied for irregularity of attendance at the mill, spoiled work, or any other misconduct, were appropriated to a sick relief fund; and, aided by other contributions, were distributed to the sick and necessitous, in clothes, provisions, or money, as the case might seem to require.

A summer and a winter festivity cheered the monotony of labour in this mill. In the month of July, the anniversary of the opening of the Sunday-school was celebrated by a pic-nic excursion in steamboats to the Cheshire shore, generally to the number of 600 or 700, tickets being given exclusively to those who were in the habit of attending some Sunday-school or place of worship. Looking forward to this was a stimulus to good conduct, and to a better observance of the Sabbath-day. On the evening of New-Year's-Day, the teachers, singers, and members of the band were invited by the proprietors to a supper in the schoolroom; after which, recitation of pieces, music and singing, with the expression of friendly sentiments on both sides, made an agreeable evening both to employers and employed.

In carrying on these operations, it was the constant aim of Mr. North to get the people to do as much as possible themselves. Had it not been for

this, even with all his gentleness and kindness of disposition, he never could have succeeded as he did. It was his practice, before launching any new plan, to call the people together, explain it to them, ask their opinion, and call for a show of hands for or against. When he began the Sunday service, it was a ticklish matter, especially where so many Irish were employed, to determine what sort of service it should be. But when, on a show of hands being asked, only one hand was held up for a Roman Catholic service, and the great majority for the ordinary service of the Established Church, the matter was settled by the people themselves, and the service adopted was not merely that preferred by Mr. North, but that voted by the people. It is not surprising that such a man should hold the conviction, that masters would have very little difficulty in getting on with their work-people, if only they took the right mode of managing them. Even the vexed question of wages may be settled pleasantly where mutual confidence reigns. Instead of the idea prevailing that the interests of masters and men are essentially opposed to each other, and mutually destructive, a right feeling would give birth to precisely the opposite conviction. On one occasion, when the proprietors were working at a serious loss, Mr. North called his people together, and explained the state of things. He showed that in the circumstances, it

would not do their master any good to have the hands working short time, but that a reduction of ten per cent. on the wages would enable them to get on. He put the question, Will you agree to a temporary reduction of ten per cent.? The answer was given in three hearty cheers—the first time, we suppose, and perhaps the last too, when a proposal of a ten per cent. reduction of wages was received with three cheers. It need hardly be added that an assurance was given that at the earliest possible moment this ten per cent. would be restored. The pledge was promptly and honourably redeemed by Mr. North; had it been so by others also, an immense amount of misery and bad feeling might have been saved.

In the management of work-people Mr. North was well aware of the wonderful power derived from taking a personal interest in each. But with so large a number in his employment, he found, like others, how difficult it was for him to know them all. It was therefore his habit to urge his overlookers to cultivate kindly personal relations with all the people under them. If he should hear of any one being absent, he would say to the overlooker, 'I find that Mary so-and-so is unwell; will you kindly go to the house and see how she is, and how the family are off, and let me know?' The foreman would come back and say, 'I am sorry to find that she is very poorly, and the family are badly off.' Then the

master would make arrangements for their comfort, making use of the foreman for this pleasant duty. Not the smallest, by any means, of the benefits of this arrangement, was the good which it did to the overlookers themselves; it enabled them to get on so much more smoothly and pleasantly with their people. Some might not like it, and would leave the employment, but others of more kindred spirit were found in their room.

Having spoken of overlookers, we must here repeat our strong conviction, that in great works where the numbers employed are so large as to baffle all endeavours of the masters to know them personally, the importance of good overlookers, in sweetening the relation of masters and men, and making the machinery work smoothly and comfortably, can hardly be exaggerated. The overlookers, in some respects, almost rival the masters in power and influence; while, screened from public observation, and the influence of public opinion, they have less to deter them from evil, and less to encourage them in what is good.

Subsequently to his management of the North Shore Mill, Mr. North was connected with Price's Candle Company, and the influence of his views and spirit in the operations that were carried on there will readily be traced. In one respect, however, Mr. North had greatly the advantage of Mr. Wilson. Mr.

North was strenuous for making philanthropy, like Napoleon's wars, as far as possible, support itself: not from any spirit of grudging, but from a conviction that on this footing its life would be more healthy, and its efforts more steady, than when nursed and coddled under a system of lavish expenditure. There are some operations where it is essential to have liberal money support; there are others where large money supplies are positively hurtful.

One of the most complete and remarkable establishments in Yorkshire is that at Saltaire—the creation of Mr. Titus Salt, formerly M.P. for Bradford. We live at such a distance from patriarchal times that the notion of a man going forth and building a city, and calling it by his name, seems altogether out of date. Such, however, is the town, as we may almost call it, of Saltaire, of which nothing is known in the old geography books, but which Bradshaw got hold of some time ago, and which watchful map-makers will now be inserting, three miles from Bradford, on the banks of the river Aire. The history of the alpaca manufacture, of which Mr. Salt is virtually the inventor, has a singular dash of romance in it, that contrasts oddly with the ordinary aspect of the manufacturing and mercantile world. Little could Pizarro have fancied, when he found the natives of

Peru clothed from the wool of an animal, half sheep, half camel, and brought home specimens of it for the museums of the Old World, that three or four centuries later, the vigorous brain of a Yorkshire spinner would fasten upon that material, gaze at it, tease it, think of it, dream of it, till he compelled it to yield its secret, and then by means of it supplied clothing for millions, and employment for thousands of his race. Mr. Salt was not long of accumulating a princely fortune, and would have retired early from business, had not his sons and partners desired that he should continue with them a little longer. In agreeing to do so, he stipulated that he would provide for their leaving Bradford, with its hundred and fifty mills, and smoke and din corresponding, and erect a spacious mill in some healthy and convenient locality, along with whatever other buildings should be required for carrying on the manufacture, as Christian employers ought to conduct it.

An agreeable site having been chosen on the beautiful banks of the Aire, the mill was built in 1853,—a fine Italian structure, with a façade 550 feet in length, and with the remarkable peculiarity, that no more than on an Italian palace can a trace of a chimney-stalk be seen on it. In place of chimneys, a lofty column rises from a handsome pedestal, at a little distance from the mill, through which you are bound to believe that all the unconsumed smoke

of the factory passes, for the visible smoke is so trifling, that this must be matter of belief. We should not like to say how many hundred windows are in the building, but some idea of the magnitude of the operations may be gathered from the fact, that the alpaca cloth made in a year would be long enough to stretch in an unbroken band, 6000 miles, or from England to Peru. The area of the several floors in the mills, warehouses, and sheds, form a surface of 55,000 yards, or eleven acres and a half. The mill is constructed with all due regard to health. The ceilings are all double, to promote due and comfortable ventilation. From three to four thousand persons are usually employed, and when the dinner-bell empties the building, the stream of human beings seems as if it would never flow past.

The town of Saltaire, reared wholly by Mr. Salt, consists of nearly 500 dwellings (to be increased, I believe, to 700), built of the beautiful stone for which the district is remarkable, and having a most substantial and comfortable appearance. The rents vary from 2s. 4d. to 7s. 6d. a week, and are paid with remarkable punctuality, the rent-book presenting a marvellous appearance, with hardly more than a few shillings in arrear for years. The rental is barely 4 per cent. upon the capital laid out. Besides dwelling-houses, there are commodious shops and stores, but not a single public-house, nor place for the con-

sumption of intoxicating liquor. A very commodious school affords education to 600 healthy-looking children, on the half-time system of the manufacturing districts, half being engaged by turns in school one part of the day, and in the mill the other. By and by a new set of schoolrooms is to be built, and the present schoolroom will be converted into a dining-hall and reading-room, the dining-hall being for the accommodation of such of the workpeople as reside at a distance. The wash-houses and baths are most complete. Washing machines, wringing machines, and centrifugal drying machines, shorten and simplify the tedious process, but such is the force of habit, that many of the women stick to the old practice with the firmness of martyrs, and do all their washing and drying at home. The baths are as comfortable as could be desired, but are used only to the extent of about 1200 baths a year. The reading-room and library, for which the charge is a shilling a quarter, has 150 subscribers. A very handsome Congregationalist chapel crowns the institutions of Saltaire, a Grecian structure, with vestibule of elegant Corinthian columns, surmounted by a circular tower and dome. The parish church is that of Shipley, a small town half a mile off, where there are also several chapels. A surgeon looks after the health of the people, so that between schoolmaster, minister, and surgeon, mind, soul, and body are all remembered.

Saltaire, I need hardly say, is free from all traces of the filth and darkness and squalid misery so common in manufacturing towns and districts. From the surgeon I learned that the infant mortality, which in Bradford is frightfully high, is not nearly so great. Crime of all kinds is extremely rare, and there are hardly any illegitimate births. The absence of all temptation to drunkenness has much to do with this. If the gin palace were to be seen at every corner, the houses would not present that appearance of comfort, and even elegance, which so strikes a stranger. The population of Saltaire is about 3000. Many of the workpeople reside in other places in the neighbourhood.

Last autumn (1864) a paragraph in a Scarborough newspaper came under my notice, showing the grand scale on which Mr. Salt goes to work. On the 17th September last, Saltaire went bodily for the day to the seaside. In celebration of the eleventh anniversary of the opening of Saltaire, 4000 excursionists were whirled in four monster trains over Yorkshire, and set down on the beautiful cliffs and ravines of Scarborough. The day was divided between land and sea, and especially to those who had never before looked on the latter, was one of great enjoyment. The excursion tickets were presented by the firm to their workpeople and tenants.

Crossing from Bradley to Halifax, we come upon

two names honourably distinguished in the manufacturing world, and singularly marked by the romance of their family history—Crossley and Akroyd. The philanthropic exertions of the Crossleys have a world-wide fame. But while the People's Park which, under circumstances most interesting in themselves and most creditable to the donor, was presented by Sir Francis Crossley a few years ago, is admirably adapted for the recreation and enjoyment of the working classes generally, and while the other objects promoted by the Crossleys have an equally benevolent and useful purpose, I am not aware of any plans for the special benefit of their workpeople that call for particular notice.. We may remark, however, as worthy of imitation, the habit of the firm to have a special care for those who have been long in their employment. And when, quite recently, an advertisement appeared converting the firm into a joint-stock company, it was announced that, in the allocation of the shares, a preference would be given to applications from those of their own people who had been longest with them.

Mr. Akroyd has long been distinguished for his exertions on behalf of his workpeople, and the working classes generally. In the smaller of his establishments, that at Copley, near Halifax, about 1000 people are employed; in Halifax itself about 5000. At Copley he has built a village of working men's

houses, about 112 in number, at a cost of £11,500—from which the average interest is about four and a half per cent. Here, too, he has provided a dining-room, accommodating 700; a library, for which no charge is made, and a news-room. A brass band has been organized, and there are a number of allotment gardens, out of which has sprung a horticultural show. Prizes are given not only for the produce of the gardens, but also for wild plants or ferns collected from the neighbourhood. There are recreation-grounds, for swinging and other gymnastic exercises. There is a sick and funeral club—as in nearly all large establishments. Until a church shall be built, a schoolroom, used as such during the week, is employed for divine service on Sundays, conducted by a chaplain.

At Halifax there are similar arrangements. In addition to these, several establishments of a more general kind have been actively promoted by Mr. Akroyd. His experience at Copley showed him that, to furnish houses for the working classes, it is not the best way for a capitalist to build the whole. At Halifax he determined to follow a different plan. Building Societies being very popular in that part of England, and commanding the confidence of the working classes, he resolved to attempt, with the aid of such a society, to facilitate the erection of a superior class of houses, by working people them-

selves. Purchasing, in 1855, a very advantageous plot of land at Bank Field, close to Halifax, he had the ground laid out, and designs furnished, for a village of 350 houses of all classes, by an eminent architect, Mr. Gilbert Scott. The designs commissioned were in the domestic Gothic style, adopted partly in conformity to Mr. Akroyd's own taste, and partly because it was the original style of the parish of Halifax. 'Intuitively, this taste of our forefathers pleases the fancy, strengthens house and home attachment, entwines the present with the memory of the past, and promises, in spite of opposition and prejudice, to become the national style of modern, as it was of old England.'

Knowing that at first a tasteful style of building would not command the preference of the working classes, Mr. Akroyd became personally responsible for several expenses, including the cost of plans, and the ground required for streets. The Gothic style of architecture was at first very unpopular, and the prejudice against dormer windows, which were associated with almshouses and poverty, was so strong, that on that point Mr. Akroyd was obliged to give in. By and by, however, the 'Go-a-head Building Society,' as it was popularly called, made way. The village of 'Akroydon' was begun. The first two blocks, consisting of four single and fourteen double houses, were erected in 1861, at a cost to the members

of £3217, 11s. 9d. These were followed by the erection of two better class of houses costing £650, and a commodious store for the Booth Town branch of the Halifax Co-operative Society, one of the most prosperous in England. Other houses have been added. In 1863 thirty-seven houses had been built, costing nearly £8000. Further erections were then in contemplation. It will be seen that Akroydon is not a village of the smallest class of houses exclusively, but that larger dwellings are wisely mixed with these. In the neighbourhood Mr. Akroyd has built one of the most costly churches that have been recently erected, the expense of building and endowment, we have been informed, exceeding £50,000.

Among the other schemes which have obtained the active support of Mr. Akroyd, and which only want of space prevents us from dwelling on at large, are a Penny Savings Bank, a Working Man's Provident Society for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the Working Men's College of Halifax. The last-named institution originated in an evening class at Haley Hill. It has now been about ten years in existence. Besides the principal institution, there is a branch at Copley, and at both there are institutions for young women too. Among the branches of instruction are theology, English literature, geography, bookkeeping, French, singing, political economy, mathematics, chemistry, and physical science. The

number who had been at some of the classes of the College during a part of session 1863-4 was 467, with average nightly attendance of 147; and in the Young Women's Institute 244, with average nightly attendance of 80. In the Women's Institute, domestic economy is one of the branches taught.

From one who has expended such an amount of time, money, and thought on schemes of this kind, it is gratifying and most important to find a frank and cordial testimony given both to their efficiency and their success. 'I am fully convinced,' he has said, 'by the result of the experiments I have made, and their uniform success, that it is possible to make the people feel that their own and their employer's interests are identical, provided the latter, who may be considered, under God, the stewards of the commercial wealth of the nation, will acquit themselves of their responsibilities towards those who, under the order of Providence, are intrusted to their care.'[1]

We conclude this chapter with a few miscellaneous notices of operations mostly on a less extensive scale.

In Dr. Cooke Taylor's *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire*, published in 1842, there occurs a very interesting description of visits to two places, where the opposite spirit manifested by the people in a time of fearful distress furnished a

[1] *Proceedings of Social Science Association*, 1857, p. 531.

very striking proof of the value of those philanthropic efforts for which we plead.

'We stopped at the mills of Holymount, belonging to three brothers named Whitehead. . . . The mill, which is being erected in place of one that had been accidentally burned down, is one of the most extraordinary architectural works in Lancashire. A river flows beneath its arched floor, and has necessitated an expenditure of nearly as much building below as has appeared above the surface. The engine-bed is, I believe, without a parallel; no one who looks at the enormous blocks of stone of which it is composed can any longer feel surprised that the orientals believe the monoliths in Egypt, and the Cyclopic masses in the walls of Baalbec, to have been shaped and brought to their places by beings of a superior order. . . .

'The residences of the operatives are not so much cottages as handsome houses, consisting of from four to six rooms, provided with every convenience necessary for comfort and cleanliness. They are all well furnished, in many cases with mahogany; I saw none destitute of a clock, and a small collection of books, generally on religious subjects. The children of the village were remarkably healthy, neat, and intelligent. . . . I was informed that the most of the men were teetotallers, and that they had invested considerable sums of money in the savings bank. If the entire

forest [of Rosendale] had been similar to Holymount, it would have been an earthly paradise. . . .

'The school attached to the factory was one of the most elegant and convenient buildings I had ever seen devoted to the purposes of education. . . . It could not have cost less than £1000. The children pay twopence a week, but this is allowed to accumulate as a reserve fund, to be paid back to each pupil when he is twenty years of age, the proprietors defraying the expense. The weekly payment is strictly enforced. . . .

'I found that the Messrs. Whitehead were Methodists; they took me to see the chapel which they had erected in Holymount, one of the prettiest I have ever seen.

'I can never forget the observation which one of the Messrs. Whitehead made to my companion, when asked respecting the cost of the building. 'It pleased God,' said he, 'to extend peculiar blessings to us, who were left fatherless at an early age, in the care of a widowed mother. When we had been so far favoured in our exertions as to enable us to build our three dwelling-places on yonder hill, we felt that the Author of our prosperity ought not to be worshipped in a house inferior to that in which we dwelt.'

The background against which this picture of Holymount looks so bright is painted thus:—'At Burnley, I found them all Chartists, but with this

difference, that the block printers and hand-loom weavers had united to their Chartism a hatred of machinery, which was far from being shared by the factory operatives. The latter also deprecated anything like an appeal to physical force, while the former strenuously urged an immediate appeal to arms. There was no concealment of sentiment on either side. I heard more than twenty openly advocate the expediency of burning down the mills, in order to compel the factory hands to join in an insurrectionary movement. A mill had been burned down at Colne two nights previously; doubts were entertained whether this was the result of accident or of design; and in the streets of Burnley there were groups expressing their hope that it would be traced to design, and followed by imitation, while the heaviest curses were bestowed on the factory hands of Colne for having heartily exerted themselves to check the conflagration and to supply water to the engines.'

To a single fact regarding an establishment conspicuous for the care bestowed on apprentices, I must beg the reader's attention. True it is that

> *Not* many a gem of purest ray serene
> The dark unfathom'd caves of 'blue-books' bear;

but to those who take the trouble of exploring them, they do yield an occasional pearl. Such is the following notice, gleaned from a huge Parliamentary

report of 1833, regarding a factory belonging to Mr. W. Newton, at Cresbrook Mills, Tideswell, about which I have in vain attempted to get more recent information :—Nothing is received for the apprentices who are boarded here, and nothing is given them but board, lodging, washing, and raiment, and a monthly allowance of pocket-money to each apprentice, varying from sixpence to eighteenpence. There are two Sunday school-teachers, and prayers twice every Sunday. The breakfast consists of milk, porridge, and bread, as much as they like ; the supper is pretty much the same. They have meat six days a week, as much as they please, and potatoes and broth. There are separate eating and sleeping rooms for boys and girls. The girls have also a separate play-ground. Clean sheets are provided once a fortnight, and clean shirts and shifts once a week. The beds are neat and clean, and there are not too many of them in one room. Three of the little children sleep in one bed, and two of the older. The greater part of the apprentices in this establishment remain in it till they marry. *During the last twenty-four years, only one apprentice girl has gone astray before marriage, and there have been only four such cases in the whole mill.*

The last notice I give here relates to an establishment in the neighbourhood of Manchester, and has been sent me by the employer (once a hand-loom

weaver), with so many apologies for the insignificance of the operations, that I value it all the more, as showing what may be done at comparatively small expense and trouble.

'In dealing with our workpeople, I cannot say that we have anything that rises to the dignity of a "plan" for promoting their welfare. What we consider most important is to encourage a spirit of self-dependence, and especially to lead them to set its true value on labour—their great and only property. All the workrooms of our establishment are lofty, well-lighted and ventilated; there is also water, soap, towel, washbowl, etc. for washing, and clear water for drinking when necessary. We have a warm and comfortable dining-room for the use of those workpeople who come from a distance, which we supply with useful periodicals, and such other literature as we think judicious. Once in the year, about Christmas-time, we invite all our workpeople with their wives to an evening entertainment. They assemble at four P.M. when a good tea is provided, with all the substantial edibles that may be necessary, with a plentiful supply of apples and oranges, and a moderate supply of beer. After tea the chairman makes a few appropriate remarks, and the whole company then tries to solve the problem of spending an evening in thorough, hearty, yet innocent enjoyment. These entertainments are looked forward to with feelings of great

pleasure, and tend to produce a spirit of confidence and good-will between employers and employed. Whether as a consequence of these little attentions to their comfort, I cannot say, but we have never had a strike among our workpeople. I have also noticed, that workpeople who, when they came to us, were rather slatternly in person and dress, in a short time appeared both neater in dress, and more cleanly and robust in person.'

This chapter has already extended to so great length that we must allot a separate one to notices of mills and factories in other countries.

CHAPTER V.

MILLS AND FACTORIES IN SCOTLAND, AMERICA, AND FRANCE.

> 'As the tall oak, whose vigorous branches form
> An ample shade, and brave the wildest storm,
> High o'er the subject wood is seen to grow,
> The guard and glory of the trees below:
> Till on its head the fiery bolt descends,
> And o'er the plain the shattered trunk extends;
> Yet there it lies, all wond'rous as before,
> And still the glory, though the guard no more.'—CRABBE.

WHEN we cross the border and enter Scotland, pursuing inquiries into the relations of masters and men, we soon find that we are in a different country. England and Scotland agree in this, that in both there is very much neglect and coldness on the part of employers. I fear it must be confessed that less in proportion is done in the northern part of the island than in the southern. But where an active interest is taken in the welfare of the work-people, the method is not usually the same. In Scotland philanthropic operations are not usually conducted either on that scale of magnitude, or with those distinctive features of interest which mark

many of the instances we have brought forward from the sister kingdom. The number of 'hands' employed under one head in Scotland seldom reaches the vast multitude that are often congregated in England. Of children, too, under the age of thirteen, the number employed in factories in Scotland is greatly smaller in proportion. For this reason there are far fewer schools under the Factory Act;[1] and, indeed, the greater desire for education in Scotland has, hitherto at least, checked the evil so prevalent in England, of sending children to labour before they have got anything worthy of the name of instruction. There are few things for which we have more cause to be thankful in Scotland, or which we should be more careful to foster, than the strong public sentiment among the working classes in favour of education; long may it be ere the love of earnings prevails over the desire for instruction; or the wish which has so often been heard, ceases to be expressed from toilworn fathers and mothers, when asked what they were thinking of doing with 'Jamie' or 'Geordie'—'we would fain give him another year at the school.'

[1] 'The most recent returns from Scotland show that there are only 1629 half-timers, or 1·8 per cent. of the whole number of persons employed in factories, while 62,087, or 9·6 per cent., are half-timers in England; and out of the 568 factories in Scotland, in 41 only are half-timers employed.'—(Report of Inspector of Factories, 1862, p. 10.) 'Half-timers' are children under thirteen, who work one half their time, and are at school the other.

As a general rule, specific plans cannot be so readily put in operation in Scotland as in England. In large towns, it is less easy to deal with the workmen as a peculiar body; they are more mixed up with the general population around. Except where new towns or villages have been formed, the school system of the country leaves less field for schools in exclusive connexion with particular works; and the strong attachment of the more earnest class of workmen to their own religious denominations makes it more difficult to collect them together for religious services. The efforts of kind and Christian employers in Scotland are, therefore, with some exceptions, necessarily carried on in a somewhat less systematic way than in the cases which we have dwelt on in the preceding chapter. In some cases, lay missionaries and Bible women are employed to visit the families of the workers in their own homes, and promote both their temporal and spiritual welfare. Lectures are delivered in winter evenings on interesting and useful topics; the circulation of books and periodicals of a healthy kind is encouraged; Bible classes are sometimes taught; excursions in summer, and soirées in winter, are provided; attention is paid to the sick; and personal influence is brought to bear for the reformation of those who have gone aside. I know employers in Scotland who personally visit all their people at their houses, and get their wives and

daughters to do the same. Such cases are unhappily exceptional, and Scotland needs an impulse in this cause as much as England; but, in the different circumstances of the country, the work will be done in a somewhat different way.

Before the passing of any of the Factory Acts, several employers in Scotland were honourably distinguished for their efforts to promote the welfare of their workers. In sundry Parliamentary reports I have found honourable mention made in this respect of Messrs. Aberdein, Gordon, and Co., of Montrose, who for thirty years (before 1855) had maintained a school at their works at Logie; of Messrs. Cowan of Penicuik, Smith of Deanston, Finlay and Co., Bannerman of Aberdeen, Richards of Montrose, Brown of Dundee, Oswald of Glasgow, and the proprietors of the works at New Lanark, and of those at Stanley, near Perth. In later reports, allusions occur to more recent arrangements, such as those of the late Mr. Erskine Beveridge, of St. Leonard's, near Dunfermline, who, in addition to a large day-school and night-schools, had provided 'a waiting-room, heated with steam-pipes, for the benefit of the workers who reside at a distance;' and the Carston Holm Weaving Company at Pollokshaws, who had also prepared a waiting-room for the use of their workers at meal hours. Yet one cannot but wonder that an arrangement like this, that costs the em-

ployer so little, and is such a comfort to the employed, should be so rare as to obtain special notice in the inspectors' reports.

Among Scotch employers, I know none who take more interest in their people, or have a deeper and more genuine desire for their welfare, temporal and spiritual, than the Messrs. Cowan, papermakers, Penicuik. As far back as 1833, we find the late head of the firm, Mr. Alexander Cowan,—a fine specimen of the Christian patriarch,—attracting the attention of the Parliamentary Commissioners; and in their report to Parliament an anecdote is told of a Frenchwoman who, after working for some years in his employment, had gone to her native country; but soon afterwards presented herself anew at Penicuik, finding that nowhere else could she enjoy the happiness and home feeling which she had found in Mr. Cowan's employment. In connexion with the works at Penicuik there are excellent schools; also cottages, gardens, and flower shows; there is a female lodging-house, and a dining-room for women; and a new dining-hall is one of the schemes in contemplation. Much pains are taken to promote sick clubs, both among men and women, and to encourage the people to make provision for old age. Popular lectures are among the methods employed to promote intellectual improvement; and for furthering a happy social feeling there are entertainments and excursions

at suitable times. A year or two ago I learned, incidentally, through a young man in my own congregation, that for the recreation of the clerks in the counting-house a comfortable house was provided in the country, which they occupied in relays throughout the season, so that each was insured a fortnight of bracing Highland air.

The cordial and kindly spirit in which the Messrs. Cowan admit their people to enjoy their own grounds and gardens is worthy of all admiration. It is not every employer that in planning his own house would provide an apartment for gatherings of the people, or that would feel a pleasure in seeing his workpeople strolling on a pleasant summer evening under the windows of his drawing-room. It is not every head of a large establishment that would make a point of visiting every person in his employment, whether in town or country, and endeavouring to know and to counsel the youngest child that folds paper in his warehouse. To such employers, the sick and the aged are objects of peculiar interest and attention. And while taking care not to do their whole duty by proxy, or roll over on a paid functionary all the service in which personally they ought to take part, they at the same time make use of the labours of a lay missionary or Bible-reader to supplement their own services among their people. As a large number of young females are employed by them in Edin-

burgh, the services of their missionary are of great value in counteracting the temptations of a great city. I can bear testimony, as a minister in Edinburgh, to the moral value of these arrangements; and I have reason to believe that, even in a commercial point of view, the expenditure involved is found to be more than repaid, through the more cordial spirit and careful efforts of the workers.

Of plans connected with the great factories in the west of Scotland, I have not been able to hear of much that requires particular mention. Probably enough many of the proprietors prefer to give their support to the public institutions of the towns with which they are connected; but that there should be such a lack of operations of any sort specifically connected with the public works, indicates, beyond doubt, a great defect, due in some cases chiefly to the employer, and in others chiefly to the men. That the selfishness and moral inertness of employers is often to blame for the absence of all provision for the elevation of their workpeople, is a fact too obvious to admit of dispute. I would appeal to Scotch employers, on the bare principles of patriotism, and for the honour of Scotland, not to lag behind England, but to take the lead in the great race of commercial philanthropy.

But there are also cases where the inveterate suspiciousness of the men has compelled willing employers

to fold their hands. I have just heard of a case where a benevolent firm thought it would be well for their people to start a friendly society, and offered to lend them money for the purpose, expressing at the same time a desire that the society should be managed entirely by the people themselves, and suggesting that, if their offered loan were accepted, as a matter of business a moderate interest should be paid on the advance. But so full were the men of the suspicion that the employers had some secret object to gain by the proposal, that the matter was allowed to drop. Yet these were employers who, when their premises were consumed by fire, and their people thrown out of work, paid them 'pounds for what they owed them shillings.' The fact is worthy of being placed side by side with one told me by a philanthropic owner of extensive flour-mills in England. Some years ago he wished to reduce the hours of labour from (I think) fourteen to twelve hours a day; and, on a very sound economic, as well as philanthropic principle, which all experience has since verified, but which the men could not understand, he offered them the same payment for the reduced, as they had been getting for the full time. But so suspicious were the men that he intended some interference with their privileges, that they stuck to the old hours and refused his offer! It is discreditable to the sagacity as well as to the good feeling of work-

ing men, to allow themselves to become the victims of such ridiculous suspiciousness. It is about as unreasonable as the conduct of a countryman in Forfarshire in the days of the old postage rates, who had a letter delivered to him by the village postmaster, on which the charge for postage was ninepence. The countryman insisted that he could afford to let him have it for sixpence. In vain the postmaster protested that there was no profit to him on the transaction; till, having fought his way upwards, step by step, as for very life, he was fain at last to accept of eightpence-halfpenny, in utter despair of obtaining the remaining 'bawbee!'

In some mills in Glasgow religious services are held every morning, and in not a few, classes of some kind assemble at night. I have had the pleasure of conducting the morning service in the mill of Mr. Mitchell, of Grovepark Weaving Factory, at which a considerable number of the workers were present, and I gladly take the opportunity of bearing testimony to the admirable spirit and exertions of the owner of the mill. At that meeting a number of young women were present, who engage at night in a beautiful labour of love. They give what instruction they can to those of their fellow-workers who need it, and are willing to receive it, in reading, writing, sewing, and singing. Prayer-meetings are also held, and Bible classes for the more advanced.

In promoting and guiding such labours, the owner of the mill confers a singular benefit on his people. A mill-girls' religious society for the neighbourhood has grown out of such operations, and has obtained 'the unqualified admiration' of Dr. Norman Macleod and others who are familiar with its working. A similar society has been formed in another district of Glasgow.[1] I have heard of a few other firms who have meetings for worship; and there are a few also who employ missionaries for their people.

The manufacturing system of America is very peculiar, and if our space were not limited, we might usefully occupy a whole chapter in delineating one of the brighter features of a country to which the British public of late has been disposed to do but scanty justice. Confining ourselves to the town of Lowell in New England, we shall avail ourselves of an interesting account of his visit to that town by the late Dr. Scoresby, who having in his later years

[1] I had lately the pleasure of reading in manuscript a very interesting account of an excursion which the members of this society and their friends make in autumn to the Island of Arran. They find accommodation, to the number of five or six hundred, in the cottages about Whiting Bay, and when not deluged with rain, spend a delightful week amid the amenities of that charming retreat. Particular attention is paid to sickly persons, and in some instances such persons have joined the excursion at the invitation and cost of the society, and have been unspeakably the better for the week's relaxation.

become vicar of Bradford in Yorkshire, naturally felt the deepest interest in comparing the manufacturing establishments of the old world with those of the new. In the present case, the comparison was greatly in favour of the transatlantic town. The factory towns of New England have this great natural advantage over those of Britain, that the mills are driven not by steam but by water, and consequently the smoke and filth and noise which we associate with a manufacturing community are almost wholly unknown. The mills, too, are placed in situations where no previous population has been gathered, so that suitable sites are readily found both for the factory buildings and for dwelling-houses and other erections. The owners of the factories have provided ample accommodation for their workers. As the great body of these are young females, large boarding establishments have been provided, under admirable superintendence, where for a moderate sum the girls may find all that is necessary for their comfort. Should they prefer to live in private lodgings, they are free to do so. The superior appearance and character of the girls to those of the corresponding class in this country, could not but impress itself on the mind of Dr. Scoresby. Their whole tone, style, and breeding plainly indicated a superior class. The *Lowell Offering*, a monthly magazine of great ability, conducted by them, attested the

high level of their culture; and a selection of pieces from that magazine, under the title 'Mind among the Spindles,' indicated talent of a remarkable order. It appears from the statements of Drs. Reed and Mathieson, who visited Lowell a few years before Dr. Scoresby, that a very large proportion of the girls are communicants, and many more are regular attenders in the various churches of the town. A remarkable *esprit de corps* pervades the establishment, and the girls themselves are for the most part as eager to keep up the high character of the mills as their employers or ministers. Improprieties of behaviour are severely punished, and any flagrant departure from the path of virtue would be sure to be followed by instant dismissal.

Evening classes are provided for enabling the workers to improve their education. Great pains are taken in the choice of overseers, who are selected not merely with regard to their qualifications as men of activity and intelligence, but also to their fitness as moral agents. Most of them are married men with families, and many of them are communicants, and some office-bearers in the churches. The owners of the manufactories are very efficiently aided in their efforts for the moral and spiritual improvement of their workers by the ministers of religion, and also by the Sunday-school teachers, and by the conductors of other religious institutions. The mills

are purposely made as neat and attractive as possible. Strips of garden ground are attached to several of the boarding establishments, giving the girls—of whom many are from the country—the opportunity of cultivating a love for flowers; and, in some of the mills, the windows are ornamented with plants set in flower-pots, the owners wisely judging that whatever associates ideas of beauty and fragrance with work, and dissipates the notion of bareness, and dulness, and dust, is not only a pleasure but a real help to the workers.

In explanation of these remarkable results, it is to be borne in mind, that in New England, factory workers are drawn from a class of the population quite different from that which furnishes them at home. They are very commonly daughters of farmers in the country, for whom it has become customary to spend four or five years in factory labour, partly to see a little of the world, partly to save a little money, partly to improve their education, and partly because suitable employment may be difficult to be had at home. They are the class that in our country furnish the better class of servants and nursery governesses. There is not the slightest degree of degradation associated in their minds with factory labour. And the moral tone and social standard are so remarkably high, that no dread of contamination from the system enters the minds of their parents and

friends at home. To the same effect as the testimony of Dr. Scoresby, I have just received that of my highly esteemed and accomplished friend—the author of *The Englishwoman in America.* So charmed was Miss Bird with what she saw at Lowell and similar places, that she came to the conclusion that of all the ordinary ways of earning bread open to respectable females, including teaching, the most desirable was—that of factory workers in New England.

The impossibility of transplanting the system in its completeness to this country is no reason why we should not readily take the lessons which it so forcibly conveys. In particular, our employers at home would surely do well to imitate the remarkable attention to the welfare of their workers which has enabled the manufacturers of New England to secure the services of so high a class.

Our notices of philanthropic operations on the other side of the English Channel must be short, and rather fragmentary. For what immediately follows I am indebted to a report by Alex. Redgrave, Esq., Inspector of Factories, who seems in 1856 to have turned his holidays to account by visiting many of the workshops of Paris and other places abroad, and has given us some of the more interesting results.

In Paris itself, the best managed establishments,

as regards savings banks, benefit societies, education of the younger hands, and general advancement of the moral condition of all employed, were :—The Imperial Manufactory of Tobacco, Quai d'Orsay; Messrs. P. Cail et C[ie], engineers, Quai de Billy et Grenelle; M. Davy, worsted spinner, Rue d'Albony; and M. Claye, printer, Rue Benoit.

The factory of P. Bacot, at Sedan, is in beautiful order. In the West Riding the name for a woollen mill is 'a greasy mill,' although dirt is by no means a necessity, and some, such as that of the Messrs. Rawson, Halifax, are notable exceptions. But no Yorkshire mills have the same thorough cleanliness as that of the Messrs. Bacot. These gentlemen also pension their worn-out workpeople; and they have benefit societies in a flourishing condition.

The factory population of Sedan, naturally of a quiet, laborious description, attached to home and domestic ties, fond of spending their leisure moments in their gardens, are singularly free from the vice of drunkenness. *This result is due mainly to the principal manufacturers*, who have resolved not to employ drunken workmen. Hence there are no saint-Mondays at Sedan; work is regular, habits of order are encouraged, and the labouring class is happy and contented.

The population of Rheims, distant but fifty or sixty miles from Sedan, offers a contrast as complete as

could be in character and habits. Prone to drunkenness, immoral in their habits, without attachment to their homes,—they have all the vices from which Sedan is exempt.

Messrs. Crontelle, of Rheims, are now erecting at Pont-jivart, near that city, a factory, church, schools, dwellings—in fact, an entire village; by which these gentlemen expect to secure a steady set of men, and the men will acquire facilities for enjoying many benefits to which they have hitherto been strangers.

At Marquette, near Lille, the flax-spinning and weaving factory of Messrs. Scrive Brothers will repay a visit. They are concentrating at Marquette their spinning processes,—partly carried on in Lille,—with their weaving at Marquette, with the intention of having but one establishment, which is to be the centre of a new town now erecting there. Messrs. Scrive have already interested themselves so successfully for the comfort and advancement of their workpeople, that it is not merely in the spirit of prophecy to anticipate still greater success. They proceed on the principle that nothing should be given to their workpeople, but at the same time that the masters should make no profits by whatever arrangements are carried out. They make bread by machinery moved by their engine, and charge at cost price, according to the price of flour. The price of the loaf sold by

Messrs. Scrive was, at the time of Mr. Redgrave's visit, about one-third less than the charge of the bakers. Their waste steam cooks dinners, heats coffee, and supplies warm baths. They provide sleeping-rooms for families and single men, a music room, and sell wholesome beer and wine in the smoking-room at prime cost. They support a day-school, and provide for Divine service on Sundays. The cottages which they are building are semi-detached, contain four or five rooms well fitted up, and to each is attached a small garden. Before deciding upon the whole of their plans, one of the Messrs. Scrive had visited the model lodging-houses in London, and some of the establishments of our own manufacturers; and it was gratifying to find that many manufacturers were sensible of the great efforts made by English manufacturers for improving the social condition of their workpeople, and referred with admiration, amongst others, to the schools, etc., of Messrs. Marshall, of Leeds, and to the splendid establishment of Mr. Titus Salt, at Saltaire.

From another source,[1] I have obtained the following interesting account of the *atelier* of M. Alexandre, at Ivry, in the neighbourhood of Paris, the well-known maker of the harmoniums that have obtained such popularity in this country.

M. Alexandre began life as a simple workman. In

[1] *The Children of Lutetia*, by Blanchard Jerrold, ii. p. 79.

1829 he contrived to found a little *atelier* for the construction of pianos. Full of zeal and ingenuity, he was constantly making improvements, and his experiments in the free reed resulted in the production of the world-renowned 'Alexandre Harmonium.' In 1848 he found it necessary to remove his workshop from the centre to the suburbs of Paris; and for this purpose the park and the old chateau of Ivry were purchased, and a spacious and elegant architectural workshop was built. The whole of the rooms are in such a state of order and perfect cleanness, that they look as if they had but just passed from the builder's hands. Upwards of five hundred workmen are employed, and the order that reigns among them is admirable, as it is (according to my authority, Mr. Blanchard Jerrold) in most large French factories. 'The plan of the series of operations which result in the production of a cheap harmonium, is most elaborate. A visitor can see all the operations in a very short time. He can start from the yard where the timber is stacked and seasoned; through the sawing shops, past the steam saws that carve wood; through smiths' shops, where iron, copper, and steel are worked; through the noisy tuning department, where skilled men are trying the reeds; to the shops where the instrument is put together (every instrument being adjusted, taken to pieces, and put together a second time); to the vast show-rooms, where

harmoniums, in every variety of artistic case, and adapted to the purse of both rich and poor, are stowed by the hundred, to be presently shipped to every part of the world, but chiefly to England. Of the eight hundred instruments completed monthly in this factory, six hundred are spread over the United Kingdom. . . . What a humanizing luxury is thus brought within the reach of the masses, by the skilful subdivision of labour! It would be impossible to produce these instruments in a small *atelier* at the price at which they are now sold; nor would the workmen engaged in this establishment earn more, if they were banded together in little groups, than they gain in the spacious workshops of Messrs. Alexandre and Co. The wages paid to the men vary, of course, with the nature of the work they are able to perform. . . . The highest wages are fifteen francs, or twelve shillings a day; the lowest three and a half francs; the average between five and six. This is higher than that of any of the industries hitherto touched on.'

M. Alexandre was not content with building a model factory; he resolved also to make arrangements for the comfortable accommodation of the men. 'On a fine rising ground at the end of the park, well watered and timbered, a model workmen's village was laid out, to consist of fifty-two houses, divisible, by back and front entrances, into one or

two *ménages.* It is one of the brightest and happiest and quietest spots that I can call to mind. The houses are substantially-built cottages, embedded in gardens that, when I was there, were packed with flowers of every hue. There is everything at hand for the tenants' use, in the shape of wells, pumps, etc.' Such is Mr. Jerrold's account of the model village. Is the reader prepared for what follows? 'This model village, bowered in trees and bright with flowers, the rooms of which are better than many students round the Panthéon would think of inhabiting—*is a failure!*' The houses built are for the higher-paid class of workmen, yet the men would not inhabit one half of it, if they were not in a manner compelled. Their rent is regularly deducted from their wages. The rents return only three per cent. on the capital that has been expended on the building of the village; so that it cannot be said that the firm gain much by lodging their workmen. Nowhere else could these men gain the accommodation they have here at the price Messrs. Alexandre charge them. They are close to their work; whereas formerly they had three or four miles to walk, to and from the factory, through rain and snow, and along dismal roads. But so little thankful are they for their cottages and gardens, that the firm will not enlarge the village. It is, in short, not a success.

The fact shows very clearly that it is not always masters that are to blame for the social condition of the working classes. It is unjust and unwarrantable, therefore, to rail indiscriminately against masters as a class, as if they alone were accountable for the suffering or degradation of their workpeople. There is no class for whom one is more sorry than employers who do much for their people, but whose efforts are not appreciated or responded to. Their temptation to abandon the business in despair is extremely strong. They should remember, however, that all reformers need a world of patience, and a hasty temper will never aid the cause of social improvement. On the other hand, working people who chill and freeze the warm feelings of benevolent employers, by either actively or passively obstructing their plans, on grounds quite trivial, should consider that they are stifling the very spirit that would advance their order, and doing all they can to bring back the chill atmosphere of utter neglect.

The failure of the model village of Ivry seems to arise from an attempt to put new wine into old bottles. In the first place, the men are too much in leading-strings. They have not scope for independent action, nor even permission for any united movement among themselves. By the law of the country they cannot hold meetings at which twenty people are present, even to promote such an object as a

friendly society. Mr. Jerrold gives a full account of a benefit club in the works at Ivry, and of the elaborate and most comprehensive arrangements connected with it. Everything is prescribed by the firm. The men have not the echo of a voice in the management. Such is the requirement of the law. Working men in France have neither temperance leagues, nor trades' unions, nor clubs, nor reading-rooms. The Government deem it right to discourage all collective action or planning on the part of the working classes, and to accustom them to have all social arrangements made for them by others. They have the privilege of universal suffrage, but no right to manage their own affairs. They may meet their fellow-workmen in the wine-shops, and discuss constitutions, and foreign policies, and all manner of public affairs, but they cannot meet to form a building society or a co-operative store. The spirit of self-improvement and self-elevation is checked; and the *cité ouvrier* languishes unappreciated.

A still more important reason of failure is, that the habits and feelings of the workmen seem to be as yet below the level of M. Alexandre's social arrangements. The director who walked over the village with Mr. Jerrold remarked,—'It is almost impossible to make many of them care about their homes. We pay them their wages once a fortnight, when they will pay the debts they have contracted for living;

and, with the balance left in hand, will go from cabaret to cabaret, and seldom return to the factory till all the wages have been spent. We pay them on Saturday afternoon, and many will not return to work until the following Wednesday.' Life out of doors is the bane and curse of the French workman's family. The re-organization of family life in France is more essential to its welfare than any other social arrangement. Moral and spiritual levers are required as well as social to elevate a people.

No such success can ever crown mere temporal beneficence as to discredit God's divine plan of elevating soul and body together. Philanthropy dissociated from the gospel is an unwedded, unblest adventurer, whose bastard issue, though fair in form, want the rich beauty of soul that makes home bright and life blessed. The gospel dissociated from philanthropy is like a mother separated from a bright, blithe daughter, ever ready for the mission of mercy, with a radiance of love about her that 'makes a sunshine in the shady place.' The gospel hand in hand with philanthropy displays the true bow of promise; the very air becomes balmy when these go forth together, to

> 'walk this world
> Yoked in all exercise of noble end.'

Much of what the critics said of *Aurora Leigh* may be true. The plot may be bad, and some of its in-

cidents revolting; the verse may often be careless, and the language turgid; but after writing off all these defects, enough of grandeur and truth remain to make a poem noble in its spirit, and most instructive in its lessons. It is no small service Mrs. Browning has rendered to the cause of Christian philanthropy, in delineating, as she has done, a towering but self-confident mind brought to renounce its daring dreams for the regeneration of the world, and at last

> 'stand
> And work among Christ's little ones content.'

The time was when Romney Leigh 'had a pattern on his nail,'—a fair plan of a happy world—

> 'so good a world!
> The same the whole creation's groaning for!'

But hard experience and a blessed light falling within dispelled the dream. The true working-plan was found at Nazareth; thence only could come the world's jubilee.

> 'The world's old,
> But the old world waits the time to be renewed,
> Toward which, new hearts in individual growth
> Must quicken, and increase to multitude
> In new dynasties of the race of men;
> Developed whence shall grow spontaneously
> New churches, new economies, new laws
> Admitting freedom; new societies
> Excluding falsehood; He shall make all new.'

CHAPTER VI.

IRONWORKS AND COLLIERIES.

'Deep in the heart of the worker,
Too little understood;
Deep in the heart of the worker
Lies the sense of brotherhood.
Alone may sit the thinker,
And build his tower of thought;
The earth's hard stone and iron
By many hands are wrought.'—ISA CRAIG.

'ON the 5th of January in the present year,' writes, in 1849, the author of one of the 'Small Books on Great Subjects,' 'I was present at an entertainment given by Messrs. Ransome and May, the well-known ironfounders of Ipswich, to their workpeople. In the sixty years that had elapsed from the time that the business was first established by the late Mr. Robert Ransome, it had very greatly increased, until, at the commencement of this year, the number of persons in the regular employment of the firm amounted to upwards of a thousand.' The occasion of the entertainment was the opening of new and extensive premises, and the union of the

different sets of workmen in one establishment. A large warehouse, to be afterwards used as a show-room, was fitted up for the occasion.

'Upon my arrival (continues the writer) I witnessed a most animated scene. The room, which was of great size, was lighted by bright jets of gas; the columns which supported the galleries were ornamented with garlands of evergreen and artificial flowers; banners bearing appropriate devices were displayed along the walls; a noble baron of beef which had been lowered down by pulleys in some mysterious manner through a trap-door from the roof above, took up the most prominent position at the chief cross table; and down the room, far as the eye could reach, and farther than the voice could be heard, the workpeople were sitting. The clerks and the managers of the works were accompanied by their wives, and at the cross tables were seated many of the principal inhabitants of Ipswich and other guests, and many ladies . . .

'In the course of the proceedings an address from the workpeople was read, which pointed out very clearly what was felt by them to be the understanding which ought to exist between them and their employers. "Nothing, we are satisfied," said they, "can more tend to the prosperity of any business, and the comfort of those engaged in it (particularly one of such magnitude as ours), than a reciprocal

kind feeling between masters and servants, and when the masters attend not only to the pecuniary interests of those under them by a fair compensation for their labour, but also endeavour to promote their intellectual and moral improvement, and are met by a corresponding spirit on the part of their servants. . . . A business so conducted has in it not only the elements of pecuniary success, but is calculated to render the conduct of it no less pleasant than profitable, and thus to dignify the pursuit of business as a hallowed means of establishing an affectionate and social relation between employers and employed. Proud are we to say that this has hitherto been pre-eminently the case in the one to which we have the honour to belong."

'Whilst the workmen thus on their part expounded these views, the principals of the firm did not the less anxiously insist upon them. "I wish to feel," said one of those gentlemen, "that we as masters have a larger debt of gratitude to you than that which is simply settled and paid for when the end of the week comes. I believe that all employers of men have large responsibilities with reference to those whom they employ, and if, under the circumstances by which we are surrounded, it is necessary that numbers of workmen should spend so large a portion of their time in toil, it is the bounden duty of those who reap the reward of their toil to endeavour to

make the few remaining hours which they may have in the course of the day as largely productive of pleasure and comfort as possible."

'It was a most gratifying sight, too, to see the young apprentices of the establishment standing up not only to acknowledge the justice of the sentiments of the workmen, but to bear testimony to the obligations they were under to many of them for instructing them in the practice of their profession. Some of these young men, the sons and relatives of the present members of the firm, will probably in after years be themselves at its head, and will then be enabled to carry into practice the lessons of kindness and of sympathy they will have learned in their youth. They had evidently won the hearts of the workmen. Nothing could exceed the warmth of the reception the meeting gave them; it was the reception given to dear companions and friends.'[1]

The more honour is due to this firm that they were at work endeavouring to promote the welfare of their workmen before the subject became popular, and while they had nothing but their own benevolent feeling and sense of duty to spur them on. It is also to be noted to their honour, that some at least of those who, as masters, have won the esteem and affection of their workpeople, rose themselves from the ranks. In a great, busy, thundering ironwork,

[1] *On the Responsibilities of Employers*, pp. 1-6.

employing some 1500 men and boys, it is an interesting thing to examine the modest little cash-book in which the father of one of the present partners noted his money transactions, when, in company with another workman, and a couple of boys, he began business. Some three shillings and sixpence weekly, if I remember rightly, was all that he allowed as wages to himself, and the whole weekly transactions, including the value of material, did not exceed ten pounds. There is no chapter in the annals of romance that, if written, would be more wonderful than the rise and progress of the great manufacturing firms of Great Britain. The present instance not only furnishes one of numberless proofs that 'the hand of the diligent maketh rich,' but shows—what is far less common—a mindful sympathy on the part of those who have risen, with the class they have left behind. The circumstance is no doubt due in some measure to the simple habits and kindly feelings of the Society of Friends, to which the Ransomes belong. The grandeur and simplicity of Patriarchs associate themselves naturally with such men. I had not the pleasure when at Ipswich of seeing the then oldest partner, the late Mr. Robert Ransome; but in his nephew, Mr. Allen Ransome, who, like his uncle and father, has devoted much attention to his workmen, I found a gentleman like one of the Cheeryble brothers of Mr. Dickens, but with far

more manliness, culture, and sense. In November last (1864) Mr. Robert Ransome died suddenly on the Rhine, and when the grave closed over his remains at Ipswich, the whole community felt as if they had buried a father.

Mr. Allen Ransome I found frankly admitting that some specific schemes, set a-going a few years ago with great expectations, had not been so successful as had been hoped, at least in the way of securing the objects at which he aimed, although otherwise he believes they have led to good. A workmen's hall, which he built fifteen years ago, at an expense of upwards of a thousand pounds, was intended for supplying the men with dinner, prepared on the premises, and at first was successful; but, owing to local difficulties, this arrangement had to be abandoned, and at present the hall serves as a room where the men who live at a distance may eat the dinners that are brought to them by their families, hold meetings, and hear addresses. The dormitories, too, which in the little book *On the Responsiblities of Employers* occupied a prominent place among the projected plans, and were to accommodate forty young men, have not been successful, chiefly, it is believed, because the rule of shutting up at ten o'clock was not very popular. Neither have the cottages which Mr. Ransome built, with a view to their being purchased by his men, been taken up by them, though indirectly

they have answered the end, many of the men having built houses for themselves, and being now proprietors of freeholds in 'California,' the name of one of the suburbs to which the freehold enterprise has given rise. On the other hand, the library, the accident fund, and the benefit club work well, and the annual fêtes of the workmen are pleasing and well conducted, instances of intemperance being very rare. There is a wholesome *esprit de corps* in the work, and a sound moral tone. Swearing is prohibited by rule and fine, but for ten years there has been no instance of either swearing or fighting within the works. On the occasion referred to at the beginning of this chapter, it was stated that of the first twenty-five names of workmen standing on the books of the firm, the average number of years of service was twenty-six, that numbers of grown-up men were working with their fathers, and that in one instance father, son, and grandson were all in the employment. So little are the men given to change that some have now worked between forty and fifty years, and others have walked half a dozen miles a day, to and from the work, for many years in succession. To the geniality and kindly tone of the masters, and the deep personal interest taken by them in the welfare of their men, this wholesome spirit is greatly due. A more pleasing proof will seldom be met with that there is a natural feeling in the relation of employer

and employed, which, when wisely evoked, brings with it great enjoyment.

Of philanthropic operations in connexion with what are more commonly understood by ironworks, we might find not a few notable instances coupled with such names as Bagnall and Cochrane and Kinnersby and Lord Granville. We cannot find room for all, and shall therefore limit ourselves to one.

Among the hearts that were stirred by the earnest counsels and vigorous example of Mr. James Wilson, of Price's Candle Company, the two junior partners of the firm of John Bagnall and Sons, of Gold's Hill Ironworks and Collieries, West Bromwich, Staffordshire, deserve honourable notice. In the year 1853, deeply impressed with the neglected condition, both moral and religious, of the persons connected with their works, they determined, by means of a church and schools, to initiate a course of operations that might, by God's blessing, effect a great change on the character of their men.

With noble devotedness, the two young men began the work in person, opening night-schools in the spring of 1853, and taking on themselves the work of teaching, with the assistance of a large body of volunteer teachers. The undertaking was highly popular, the schools were filled by scholars of every age; and in a month or two another portion of their

scheme was carried out, a clergyman was appointed chaplain to the works, and a temporary chapel was fitted up and licensed. Inevitable though the appointment of a salaried agent must be in works of such magnitude, and where systematic instruction and religious services are contemplated, the step is a somewhat critical one, and is apt to supersede that personal interest in the men, and association with them, on the part of the masters, which gives the highest charm and attraction to philanthropic operations. In a few months more, a suitable schoolmaster was appointed, and the whole of this machinery was in operation by the close of the year.

The success that accompanied their efforts led to a great expansion of their ideas, and in 1854 a building was reared, at the cost of upwards of £6000 (extravagantly large, we cannot but think), designed to accommodate the Sunday congregation, and to be available during the week for boys', girls', and infants' day-schools, and also for the night-schools. The appointment of two female teachers in 1855 completed the staff of agents; but there were also added to the institutions of the place meetings for morning worship at the various ironworks, a provident club, and a home for apprentices. In addition to these operations at their principal work, a similar establishment, on a smaller scale, was set up at Cappon-field.

Under the energetic superintendence of the chaplain the various operations conducted in this work have been attended with an encouraging measure of success. The morning religious services have not been attended by all, partly from the nature of their occupation, and partly from other causes. 'In the forges, but few puddlers, rollers, or shinglers can ever attend; and in the furnaces, many of the keepers and fillers are likewise debarred from coming to prayers; but as far as the fitters, moulders, blacksmiths, and labourers in general are concerned, they do attend (except at Gold's Hill) with great regularity, and evince great decorum.' The general effect of the morning service on the whole body of workers is represented as being 'of a sobering tendency, and calculated to suppress the exhibitions of anger and swearing and filthy conversation, which formerly were (and still are) far too common in the works. It lies in my power (continues the chaplain) to adduce many instances illustrative of the moral effect produced by these daily prayers in the works. Of course we meet with hypocrites, but hypocrisy is not by any means a characteristic of the black country people generally.'

The schools in this establishment have met with very ample support. In the day-schools six or seven hundred children receive education, while from fifty to a hundred more derive the benefit of the night-

schools, and four or five hundred are connected with the Sunday schools; and we are glad to observe that the day-school education is paid for. Had it been so in the schools of Price's Candle Company, they might have continued to diffuse their blessings to this day. The experience in the Bagnall schools in this respect has been remarkable, but by no means surprising. At first the instruction in the boys' night-school was gratuitous; but in 1861 it was thought desirable to make a small charge. In place of thinning the attendance, the change actually increased it, and the regularity and earnestness of the scholars were all the greater. To stimulate regular attendance at such schools, an ironmasters' prize scheme was initiated some years ago by the Rev. E. P. Norris, formerly inspector of schools for the district, which has had a very beneficial influence. The iron and coal masters of the district offer certain rewards to children above a certain age, who have been at least two years in regular attendance at school, and whose attainments in reading, writing, arithmetic, and sewing prove satisfactory to the examiner appointed to decide. In the course of eight years, three boys in the Bagnall schools have gained a £4 prize; 13 boys and 3 girls a £3 prize; 1 boy and 4 girls a £1 prize; 24 boys and 29 girls a Bible; and 6 boys and 2 girls honourable mention.

The best proof of life and vigour in a plant is to

be found in the suckers and offshoots that spring from its root and stem. The Bagnall institution has, in this respect, been exceedingly fertile. Our limits will permit us to give but the names of some of its offspring. The 'Ragged School' was a volunteer undertaking, which has been so successful that the original name is now a misnomer. The 'Gold's Hill Church Union' is an association for promoting Christian fellowship and Christian activity, having connected with it schemes for distributing tracts, aiding members in sickness, and enjoying an annual holiday. The 'Missionary Association' is an auxiliary to the Propagation and Church Missionary Societies. The 'Provident Society' is a benefit club, purged of objectionable features that produce anything but benefit. The 'Library' is a self-supporting, half-a-crown-yearly establishment, with 66 subscribers and 680 volumes. The 'Home for Apprentices' is a well-meant endeavour to provide a home for orphans and neglected boys, who are desirous of being apprenticed to the firm. The 'Institute' is a more lively concern than its name would indicate, dealing with cricket and foot-ball in summer, and with newspapers, essays, and discussions in winter. Then there is the drum and flute band, and the brass band, and the Band of Hope and Temperance Society; all looking well on paper, and—subject, no doubt, to a slight discount for rose-colour—working beneficially in fact.

The transition from ironworks to mines and pits is not a very abrupt one. No class of workmen were, for a long time, so utterly neglected, as colliers; but for none, perhaps, has more been done in recent years. The number of colliers in the kingdom is reckoned at 300,000. The repulsive nature of their occupation called for special sympathy and endeavour to compensate for so many disadvantages, but seemed, on the other hand, to lead to their being subjected to more cruelty and degradation. The inquiries of Parliament into their condition, as has been already mentioned, disclosed many revolting facts, especially on the state of women and children employed in pits. Even at the present day, females continue to be employed in connexion with some pits, chiefly on the surface, in a way that almost obliterates the very appearance of their sex; and an inspector tells a story of a person whom he found at work at one of these places, and never suspected to be a woman, until she happened to mention her husband!

But very much has been done of late years to improve the condition of this class, through the influence of Acts of Parliament, the vigilance of inspectors, the labours of churches, and the exertions of employers. It is with the last that our subject leads us specially to deal.

Very pleasant it certainly is to find one so well

informed as Mr. Seymour Tremenheere bearing testimony, in a recent report, to the great improvement that has appeared in recent years in connexion with the principal mines in Wales. 'The spirit actuating the very great majority of the employers of labour in the great mining districts of Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire, in reference to their responsibilities to the mining population, is unquestionably now of a much higher kind than was visible when I was first called to report upon the condition of those districts. After the Chartist outbreak of 1839, company after company, and employer after employer, has in successive years taken some steps towards providing for their people better means of moral and religious and general instruction, and towards facilitating the physical comforts and decencies of life among those neglected and rapidly collected populations. Conspicuous instances of comparative neglect and indifference to some of those considerations are still not wanting, but they are reduced to exceptions.'

Among the employers and companies in Wales to which Mr. Tremenheere draws special attention, are the Ebbw Vale Company, which has spent £3000 in buildings for the instruction and recreation of the people of Ebbw Vale and the Victoria Works; the proprietors of works at Abersychan, near Pontypool, who are building a school that is to cost £3500; and the Rhymney Company, whose schools have

cost £2200. The most conspicuous instance of earnest effort to improve the condition of the workpeople is connected with the name of Sir John Guest and his representatives.

In the north of England, it would not be easy to name an employer who has done more for his colliers and miners than Mr. Joseph Pease, of Darlington, formerly M.P. for the county of Durham. We are again among the Society of Friends, and again we find the best characteristics of that body exemplified. In Mr. Pease's efforts to improve the condition of the 5000 workpeople with whom he is connected, he has combined the charm of an attractive spirit and manner, with plans wisely contrived and vigorously worked. The number of cottages built by him approaches one thousand, and in those more recently erected the number of apartments is no less than five. The houses being given, according to the usual custom, as perquisites to the colliers, at a merely nominal charge of sixpence a fortnight, the workmen get all the benefit of their increased size and quality, and the proprietor has the greater facility for carrying out his own arrangements. Five apartments are deemed necessary by Mr. Pease for the proper and comfortable accommodation of families, where there are often grown-up young men and women, and no lodgers are allowed to be taken. Mr. Pease has built about thirty schoolrooms; besides

serving their ordinary purpose, these are placed at the disposal of ministers or preachers of any denomination, except Roman Catholics and Unitarians, for religious meetings, fire and light being supplied gratuitously. There are several circulating libraries, partly furnished by the proprietor, who removes his books from station to station after they have been read at each, and partly by subscribers of a penny a month, the books bought with their money remaining stationary. A large number of useful periodicals are supplied at half-price, Mr. Pease judging wisely that little good would come from a purely gratuitous distribution. Several visitors are employed to go from house to house, to see that the regulations are kept, and to promote the good of the people. There is some difficulty in getting all the regulations carried out as to separate sleeping apartments, and the like. But as a general rule, cleanliness prevails, and those who come with loose and slovenly habits are brought up to a higher standard. A Scotch M.P., who recently made a tour of inspection, found but one dirty house; its owner happened to be a townsman of his own!

Intemperance, fostered by public-houses, has been found by Mr. Pease the great enemy of his workpeople. Himself a total abstainer, he has used his influence to promote abstinence among them. At his sea-coast residence at Redcar, he has built a large

hall, for tea-meetings and other gatherings of a pleasant social kind. One of his recent tea-parties amounted to about 2400. As the hall accommodates only 600 at a time, they had to be taken in four successive relays. Acting on the principle, that 'who rocks the cradle rules the world,' he has been most desirous to render the influence of mothers wholesome and blessed. I should judge his efforts to have been not unsuccessful in that as in other departments, if a little anecdote which he gave me of the tea-party referred to, can be taken as a sample of what is common among his people. Going up, or led up (for the 'dim suffusion' has fallen on his eyes) to a mother with an infant, he inquired if it was her first. 'No, sir; it is my *thirteenth.*' 'And how many of these are with you now?' 'Well, sir, it has pleased the Almighty to take two to Himself; but we have still the eleven, and my husband and myself make up thirteen,—all living in one of your cottages,—all teetotallers; *and such a happy family we are!*'

Mr. Pease's efforts for the benefit of his workpeople appear to have been highly successful in evoking a pleasant spirit on their part towards him. When any dispute about wages seems impending, it has been his custom to meet his people personally in a frank and friendly manner; hear all they have got to say; and if a case for advance can be made out, agree to it; if not, refuse it. The feeling between them is

such, that when, on an emergency, an additional day's work is needed, they will give it for him, when they would not give it for his neighbours. His efforts are believed to be telling with beneficial effect upon other employers. The good master, it is seen, makes good servants, and the system brings its own reward.

Very similar to the experience of Mr. Pease in Durham was that of Lord Ellesmere some years ago, in the neighbourhood of Worsley. In 1842 the country was overrun by men who had struck work themselves, and who tried to turn the hands out of the mines and factories in the district. The Worsley colliers resisted the combination; refused to submit to the dictation of its leaders, and prepared an address to their master, Lord Ellesmere, expressive of their attachment to him, which ended in these words: 'With the voice of one man, we declare our design to defend your honour, and all in connexion with you. (Signed) Your loyal and obedient Colliers.' Lord Ellesmere had been kind to them; he had felt an interest in their physical and moral condition; and his Lordship, in a letter written at the time to the *Manchester Guardian*, showed how strongly he relied upon the effects produced by such a course of conduct. 'It cannot,' said his Lordship, 'be too widely known how liberally the working classes of this country are disposed to reward with their goodwill

and affection those to whom, rightly or wrongly, they attribute similar feelings towards themselves.'[1]

From Mr. Seymour Tremenheere's report for 1845, we give the following (abridged) account of the plans in operation for the benefit of the colliers employed at that time by Messrs. Stansfeld and Briggs, at Flockton, near Huddersfield, Mr. Milnes Stansfeld and his family being the principal promoters.

The number employed was 500. Their houses were scattered through the village, or near it, and were comfortable, consisting of three or four rooms, and several with gardens attached. Other gardens were also to be had, and a horticultural society stimulated gardening. A Provident Fund and a Temperance Society of 200 members had done much to counteract the evils of drinking. Two fields had been appropriated for recreation, and were largely made use of; while on certain nights the schoolroom was used as a reading-room, and furnished with newspapers and games, Mr. Stansfeld himself attending for an hour, and reading and explaining some work of general interest. Sunday schools and day schools were also in vigorous operation, under the immediate superintendence of members of his family. Notwithstanding a large proportion of the people were unable to read or write, rendering of course many of the plans much less efficient than they would otherwise have

[1] *Responsibilities of Employers*, pp. 19, 20.

been. The general results of this mode of treatment are stated thus:—'The grosser vices have been checked. A certain amount has been added to the general mass of good example and good habits among the labouring portion of the community, widening the base of a healthy public opinion, and putting the ill-behaved, the reckless, and the profligate in a still diminishing minority.' Mr. Stansfeld states that instances of parents' spending their own and their children's earnings on their own self-indulgence, neglecting the education, and abandoning all control over their children, were becoming more rare among his people. While out of 199 boys at work in the colliery, 36 were totally unable to read, it could not be said that such instances did not exist. He had also reason to be satisfied at their manners and deportment towards himself and one another; of their attachment towards himself and the members of his family there was no room to doubt.

Notwithstanding, the men struck for higher wages in the summer of 1844, and were out for thirteen weeks, at the end of which they returned at the former rates. This is accounted for by the large proportion of them who were quite uneducated, this circumstance rendering them an easy prey to the fallacies of the trade delegates, whose influence over them was enormous. In another colliery, however, that of the Low Moor Iron Company, where much

interest was taken in the men, and where a great improvement had taken place in education, the attempts of the delegates to produce a strike proved ineffectual.

In works of an opposite kind, in this district, which are very numerous, Mr. Tremenheere reports the relation of masters and men as very miserable. The cry of the employer is that 'the men are the masters.' 'In not one colliery out of twenty have the masters the slightest control.' It is very remarkable how closely connected the neglect of the masters, and the disorganization of their works are thus seen to be.

In the same report of Mr. Tremenheere's, a very interesting account is given of the social condition of a body of colliers in the neighbourhood of Kilmarnock, in Ayrshire, who had been for forty years under the charge of a most excellent manager. The following abridgment of it will be read with interest :—

The number of families was 120. Their cottages, instead of being built in a formal row, were scattered in groups of four or five here and there, each with its plot of garden-ground. The young people were accustomed to remain for a considerable time under their parents' roofs after they had begun to earn full wages, and their practice was to allow their parents to receive all their earnings until they married. When a young couple married, the parents of the bride and

bridegroom furnished the house between them; the bride provided a chest, and the bridegroom filled it with household articles. The practice of allowing their parents to receive their earnings, as a recompense for what they had cost them in infancy and childhood, enabled the parents to make a comfortable provision for their old age, while it encouraged mutual confidence and affection. The younger and more active men in the pit occasionally assisted the elder in getting through a day's work, so that they might be entitled to the full wage. The amount earned by each man was about 3s. 6d. a day, subject to a few deductions, besides which dwelling-houses and coals were provided. A few months previous to Mr. Tremenheere's visit, the wages had been voluntarily raised by the manager, on account of a rise in the price of coals. The only public-house that existed in the village was bought up some time ago for another purpose; since that time intemperance had altogether ceased. Beer and spirits might be kept in the houses like other domestic supplies; but there was no extravagant, irregular, and selfish expenditure. Almost all the people paid ready money for every thing they got. There were several benefit societies in the place. One, for relief in sickness, was supported by a payment of four shillings a month from the members. Another, where the payment was twopence a week, made provision for aged men and widows.

The manager added an equal sum annually to this society, making its income double the contributions of the members; and twenty-two widows drew from it half-a-crown a week each. Each man also paid three shillings a year to a funeral society; and a shilling a quarter to the medical fund.

'Of the 120 families, upwards of 50 have money in the Savings' Bank;

7 have built houses of their own;
2 of these are living on the rents of their houses, which are £50 a year each;
11 keep cows; several have pigs; and all a garden.

'The school is attended by 120 children; the families regularly attend church; and foul or coarse language is not used among them.

'In the course of fifteen years, 36 young men, out of the 120 families, rose to higher stations.

3 became ministers.
3 schoolmasters.
2 nautical engineers.
1 got a situation in the Excise.
1 clerk at the works.
1 shipping agent at Montreal.
2 apprentices to apothecaries.
1 assistant to a grocer.
1 clerk in a warehouse in Glasgow.
2 managers of neighbouring collieries.
3 check-clerks in ironworks.
1 precentor.
2 railway engineers.
1 commands a timber vessel.
6 emigrated to Canada.
6 to the United States.

'An observant person who had lived sixteen years among these colliers, said he had never seen a more intelligent, or a better behaved set of men, and that their general conduct was most creditable. I should be inclined to say, from my own observation (adds Mr. Tremenheere), that they were living as respect-

ably and happily as any members of the labouring class in Britain. . . . In answer to remarks upon the satisfactory state in which they were living, it was most gratifying to hear them say, with much feeling, "We owe it all to our good master." Other collieries in the neighbourhood present an appearance scarcely less gratifying.'

Coming down to more recent times in Scotland, we have great pleasure in adverting to the extensive operations connected with the firm of Merry and Cunningham of the Glengarnock Ironworks, and especially Mr. Cunningham, one of its members. At eight different stations, at their various ironworks in the west of Scotland, this firm have built school-houses, which have become centres of important operations in the several districts. At each of these stations Mr. Cunningham supports a lay missionary, and over them all a minister of the Church of England presides as superintendent. The prominent feature of the operations thus carried on is their evangelistic character. I am informed by a minister of the Free Church in the neighbourhood that much good has resulted from these operations, and that seed has been sown which may reasonably be expected in future years to yield a rich harvest of blessed fruit.

O si sic omnes!

CHAPTER VII.

WAREHOUSES, SHOPS, AND OFFICES.

'Again—the band of commerce was design'd
To associate all the branches of mankind;
And if a boundless plenty be the robe,
Trade is the golden girdle of the globe.
This genial intercourse and mutual aid
Cheers what were else a universal shade,
Calls Nature from her ivy-mantled den,
And softens human rock-work into men.'—COWPER.

THE relation of the chiefs of warehouses and offices to their assistants is usually of a more domestic character than that of mill-owners or of iron or coal masters to their people. It is easier to cultivate friendly relations in the former case than in the latter. The temptations to jealousy are smaller; in most cases the amount of wages has a less proportion to the profits of business, and the master has little inducement to keep them down. There is more disposition on the part of the assistants to identify themselves with the house, and to feel that a share of its glory, if glory it has, is reflected on them. In warehouses and offices of ordinary size, friendly and

Christian relations may be cultivated between the heads of the establishment and their assistants without any very formal measures. But when the establishment becomes a monster one, special arrangements have to be made by earnest employers for reaching the hundreds whom they employ.

Nothing of this kind which I have seen or heard of surpasses the arrangements in connexion with the lace warehouse of Messrs. Thomas Adams and Co., of Stoney Street, Nottingham. Every one familiar with the social history of England will feel a special interest in the triumph of such an experiment in Nottingham. The name of the town is associated with the Luddite riots, and its dilapidated castle still testifies to the frantic violence of the people some years ago, when the relations of employer and employed were in such a wretched condition. Through the grace of God, and the kindly and Christian spirit of some of its leading citizens, Nottingham has in later times become associated with more than one happy arrangement in quite the opposite direction. I must allow myself the pleasure of alluding, in passing, to the many philanthropic labours and admirable Christian spirit of one of its oldest citizens, Mr. William Felkin, a name well known and honoured throughout England. Originally a working man, and latterly an employer, no man understands better the feelings and interests of both; and no man probably

has done more to smooth their differences, and draw them in love and confidence together.

I must ask the reader to accompany me to the warehouse of Messrs. Adams, and mark how the first half-hour is spent inside. The clock is striking eight as you reach the corner of a massive building, in passing along which you observe a row of windows on the ground-floor of one of the wings, having a slightly ecclesiastical form. Following the current of workpeople—mostly females—that are flocking inside, you find yourself in a large room or chapel, capable of accommodating three or four hundred persons. By and by, the room is filled in every part. Precisely at five minutes past eight the chaplain takes his place at the desk. On his left hand you observe a choir of singers, male and female, and on the right a handsome organ, which you afterwards learn cost a hundred guineas, and was the gift of the workpeople to their masters' chapel. The body of the room is filled chiefly by young females, whose neat and quiet dress you cannot help remarking. Away on somewhat raised benches at the end are some of the office clerks and warehousemen, and in one of these raised pews are three or four gentlemen, members of the firm. Their presence is no exception, but the ordinary rule. The head of the house, the mainspring of the whole, is hardly ever out of his place, although his presence necessitates a very early breakfast at

home, and brings him to the warehouse two or three hours sooner than he would otherwise care to come. The attendance of the people is purely optional; but whether moved by the example of the masters, or the love of the service, or the sense of its value, or the force of the public opinion which has grown up in the establishment in its favour, so it is that out of a staff of five or six hundred workers, about four hundred are in attendance every morning.

The service begins with the singing of a hymn, which is heartily done by all. The prayer that follows is in the form of a series of collects, some of them having a special bearing on the circumstances of the people, and expressing the longings of the Christian soul in the view of the work and temptations and duties of the coming day. After prayer a passage of Scripture is read, and the remainder of the time is occupied with a simple, earnest exposition and application of the passage. At half-past eight the meeting disperses, to begin, in the several departments of the vast warehouse, the work of the day.

In all other respects the warehouse of Messrs. Adams is a model one. The rooms are airy, spacious, and well lighted; the supply of water is abundant, and all other conveniences are admirably situated. A medical gentleman in Manchester, Mr. John Robertson, describing to the Manchester Sta-

tistical Society a visit he paid to the establishment in 1859, remarks, that in looking into the principal room, where the cubic air space for each person was no less than 581 feet, he exclaimed to the attendant, 'Why, these women look almost as fresh and healthy as if they were hay-making!' The hours of labour are short, seven o'clock being the common hour for leaving, although in winter, work does not begin till nine. There is a library, class-room, and tea-room; and for the males, tea is provided at the cost of the firm, and twenty minutes allowed for taking it. Nothing is wanting to make the situation of the workers as comfortable as possible.

The origin and history of the meeting for morning worship, which has now gone on most prosperously for upwards of nine years, cannot but be extremely interesting. The excellent Christian gentleman to whom it owes its origin, I have understood, had at one time, through no fault of his own, to pass through a very trying and painful ordeal, which threatened to wreck his ship. His experience during that most painful time impressed him very deeply with the duty of acknowledging God more openly and emphatically in connexion with business, and of taking a paternal and Christian interest in all who aided him in its prosecution. As he was considering and taking counsel how this might best be done, prosperity so flowed in on his firm that larger barns had to be

built wherein to bestow their goods. There were partners whose consent to plans so unusual as those which he was led to entertain it was not very easy to obtain, but as a first step it was agreed that in the plans of the new building a large room should be set apart as a chapel. Even when he offered to take charge of the whole arrangements connected with a daily meeting for worship, he was met with the objection, that in that case it would simply be his personal affair, and should he be removed, who would or could continue to carry it on? It was wonderful how, before the spirit of calm, earnest prayerfulness, every valley was exalted and every mountain and high place made low. Strangely enough, the partners belonged to the most miscellaneous and diverse sections of religious profession, embracing denominations that it would have seemed utterly impossible to bring together in such a matter. But come together they at last did, very wonderfully; and now the arrangement is so consolidated, so established as an integral part of the concern, that its promoter can feel a moral certainty of its continuance, knowing that even if he were gone, the firm would just as soon think of shutting up the counting-house as of discontinuing the chapel.

Of course there were croakers, when the thing was begun, who foretold that its career would be short enough. Novelty would draw a crowd at the begin-

ning, but in six months the attendance would be down to zero. Things would occur in the warehouse, a pressure of work would come, partners and others would be so occupied that the meetings could not be regularly held. In one respect the prophecy seemed not unlikely to be verified. There was at first a rush to the chapel, followed, as was natural, by a reaction. But then, again, the tide slowly turned in its favour, until now the attendance we have mentioned has become fixed and regular. Just as in the matter of family worship, there have been times when it has required an effort to devote half an hour to the chapel, but there never has been cause to regret the time so spent, for the business of the warehouse has gone on more smoothly, comfortably, and expeditiously than it would otherwise have done. The effect of the arrangement on the workers generally has been very marked. At one time, quarrelling and angry words might not unfrequently be heard in the different rooms; now, such a thing never occurs. Though about 500 females and 100 males are employed, and are necessarily brought into contact with each other, there have been but two instances in nine years of a guilty intimacy between any of them.[1] Several of the workers have had cause to bless God for meetings that have brought them the best bless-

[1] It is not meant that there have been no other immoralities on the part of members of the establishment.

ings of heaven. Even the parents of some of those employed have in some instances shared the blessing. Among those, too, where a vital change has not certainly taken place, an elevation of tone and spirit has been the manifest result of the meetings. Young persons of the better sort show an anxiety to be employed in such an establishment, and parents feel thankful that their children are under such influences. Except in the case of Roman Catholics, variety of sect never causes absence from the meetings or coldness towards them. Instead of having a repelling influence, as some foreboded, the practice rather operates the other way, and makes the establishment popular.

I was very desirous to ascertain whether these meetings, and other things connected with them to which I shall presently advert, exercised a perceptible influence in sweetening the relation of the employed to their employers. So far as I could learn, the establishment was pervaded by an admirable spirit. There was no mistaking the strong, decided tone in which some of the workers expressed their feeling—'Yes, we *have* a good master—I don't know such another—I don't know what I would not do for my master.' I was told of a very touching and tender proof of this feeling that occurred some years ago, when trade was in a wretched state, and even first-class houses, through the necessity laid on them to

help houses connected with them over the crisis, were in a very precarious predicament. An address was presented to the head of the firm, signed by a number of the oldest and most responsible of his people, expressive of their affectionate regard and thorough confidence in him, and their sympathy for him in the trying position in which he was placed. To a man of his heart, to whom any catastrophe in business would seem far more terrible for the suffering it would bring to hundreds of industrious workers, than for the loss it would occasion to himself, such an expression of feeling, at such a time, must have been most grateful, and we can readily understand how he would thank God and take courage.

It is seldom that any experiment of the kind is so successful as this, and I must detain my readers a few minutes longer in endeavouring to point out the reasons of its prosperity.

In the first place, much importance is due to the singularly prayerful and trustful spirit in which the whole arrangements have been planned and carried out by the head of the firm. Every step, we believe, has been taken in the spirit of the 127th Psalm:—'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.' The benefit of this calm, quiet, but earnest spirit, has been found in many ways—in the removal of obstacles, the over-

coming of difficulties, and the procuring of suitable agents, on whom success has been greatly dependent.

The example of the members of the firm, in regularly attending the meetings, has also had a great effect. It has shown their earnestness in the matter. It has shown that the spirit of Christian fraternity they have professed to promote is a real fraternity. They have made it apparent that the religious meeting is not an insulting device to check the evil tendencies of the people, but a brotherly fellowship, a united approach to the throne of grace, where all, as partakers of a common nature, may worship the same Father, confess the same sins, and implore the same grace and mercy. No better plan could have been taken for securing a good attendance than to leave it quite optional on the part of the people, but have regularly the presence of the masters. Half an hour a day allowed by the masters to each worker for the worship of God, shows a sacrifice on their part which it would be counted shabby for the workers to disregard. Thus the employers' influence is brought to bear in in the most efficient way, without in the slightest degree interfering with the freedom and independence of the workers—a privilege for which, as I have already shown, the working classes at the present day show the most sensitive concern, and of any infringement upon which, real or apparent, they are jealous to the last degree.

The honourable character of the employers, in their dealings with their people, and in their business relations generally, has greatly aided the success of the scheme. Every one must have remarked how often the efforts of really earnest men of business to do good are neutralized by some meanness or shabbiness, verging on dishonesty, if not actually touching it, in their business transactions. I have been told of an employer who, in paying his workmen's wages, presents each of them with a religious tract, it being notorious at the same time that the wages he pays are smaller than the average of the trade. I have heard of a country tradesman—a good man, but very, very hard—who was in the habit of having worship with his apprentices, and whose custom it was to pray, amongst other things, for a ready sale for each parcel of goods that came to hand. One day there came a parcel containing a lot of bellows that had sustained some damage. The lads wondered how their master would pray on their behalf. Worship came, and as the prayer went on, the good man prayed that the bellows might speedily find purchasers. The petition was too much for the gravity of the young rascals, but the habit of praying for damaged goods ceased from that hour. Hardly anything is so hurtful to religious influence as meanness. On the other hand, the habit of honourable dealing not merely adds to religious influence, but multiplies

it. Of the prevalence of that spirit in the establishment of which I am writing, I had not a few pleasant proofs, which it would be hardly proper to specify. One fact, however, is very suggestive—such a thing as an application for an increase of remuneration was hardly ever known in the establishment. The master has made a point of anticipating such applications, and has always found that an increase spontaneously offered, is far more thought of than one conceded to a demand. It may easily be inferred what his answer would be to a brother merchant, not in the habit of offering advances of salary, who once complained to him very loudly that his young men were always leaving him, and asked how it was that he kept such a firm hold of his.

Another cause of success—indeed one of the very chief—is the excellence of the chaplain. At the time of my visit, he had just completed the ninth year of his incumbency, and was leaving to become rector of the parish of Wilford, on the other side of the Trent, whose ancient and venerable churchyard the admirers of Henry Kirke White will remember. Consequently I was in the way to hear not a little regarding him, and its tenor was such that I feared he might be in some danger of the woe pronounced against those of whom all men speak well. The Christian earnestness, geniality, and prudence which he had brought to bear on his work were receiving

their reward. Employers and employed vied with each other in expressing their obligations to his unwearying devotion, and constant readiness for every good work. He had mingled with the people in all manner of ways; shown a most friendly interest in each; and succeeded in gaining their confidence and their love. Had he been merely a chaplain who came at the hour of prayer to officiate, and was seen at no other time, his influence must have been immensely smaller.

From Nottingham we pass to the great metropolis. Conspicuous among the great warehouses of London, alike in the world of commerce and in that of Christian economics, are such establishments as those of Messrs. Hitchcock, Williams, and Co., of St. Paul's Churchyard, and Messrs. Copestake, Moore, Crampton, and Co., of Bow Churchyard.

In these establishments, and in a few others of similar character, advantage is taken of the practice of the trade, according to which a large number of apprentices and others are boarded on the premises, and on them, so to speak, as a basis, the operations designed for the benefit of the whole establishment rest. A commodious hall, library, and reading-room, useful for a variety of purposes, affords comfortable quarters every evening for social and intellectual recreation, and lessens to the young men the temptation of the billiard-room, the tavern, or the theatre,

that might otherwise be to many of them the only resort of their evening hours. Morning worship is held in each of these establishments daily under a chaplain, who is a clergyman of the Church of England, the attendance being voluntary, except to the apprentices. There are Bible-classes, and also mutual improvement societies, missionary societies, and meetings for devotional purposes held by the young men themselves. That these must be carried on with no small vigour is apparent from various facts. In the case of Hitchcock's establishment, several young men have been brought forward for the ministry of different churches, and at one time as many as seven were carrying on their studies with that view, encouraged no doubt by 'the Young Man's Friend,' as the late Mr. Hitchcock used to be called. In the establishment of Copestake, Moore, and Crampton, there have been courses of lectures of no small mark, whether as regards the lecturers or the subjects. A little volume has been printed, containing addresses given to the people of the warehouse; one of these is by the Bishop of London, one on 'Sobermindedness,' by the Rev. D. Moon, and one on 'Haunted Houses,' by the Rev. J. B. Owen. More recently, the Bishop of Oxford, and other persons of distinction, have given addresses. And just as I write, a great meeting is held to inaugurate new premises, of which the firm have taken possession,

and advantage is taken of the occasion by Mr. Moore to reiterate the principles of Christian interest in all who are in his employment by which he is actuated. Apart from the higher good resulting from such things to individuals, one cannot but feel that they must tend powerfully to gender a wholesome corporate spirit among the members of the establishment, and to stimulate each to maintain, by personal excellence, the character and reputation of the whole.

Dressmaking establishments are not warehouses; but the present is as suitable a place as any for saying a few words of an institution as yet only in infancy, but so founded on Christian and philanthropic principles as to make its success very earnestly to be desired. The miseries and murders of which dressmakers are the victims, are one of the most appalling and harrowing features of our times. Commonly these miseries are greatest in the first-class establishments; for as the customers of these are most swayed by fashion, the pressure at particular seasons is most intense. For needlewomen to work from fifteen to eighteen hours a day, for months together, and on some occasions the whole night, is by no means uncommon. The work is usually done in ill-ventilated apartments, where the vitiation of the air is increased by the burning of gas. From 80 to 156 cubic feet has been ascertained in certain cases

to be the space allowed to each, while in Pentonville Prison each prisoner has 800. Hardly a single individual can endure such a state of things without damage to health; many are seized with consumption and other deadly diseases; and cases have occurred of death in the very midst of their toil.

'The London Dressmaking Company' has been instituted with a view to remedy these terrible evils. A house has been taken at 18 Clifford Street, Bond Street, and operations commenced on 25th March 1865. Among the regulations it is provided that no workwoman shall work more than ten hours a day. No persons shall sleep or work together with less cubic space than 400 feet for each. The diet to be wholesome, and the food sufficient and well cooked. No order shall be taken that would entail work beyond hours; when the pressure of work is great, out-workers shall be employed. No work shall be done on Sundays on any pretext whatever. The inmates are expected to attend daily prayers in the house, and divine service on Sundays. A medical officer shall be attached to the establishment, and it shall also be open to the inspection of the officer of health of the district. To avoid the misery and bondage of long credits, which virtually place the dressmaker at the mercy of her customers, it is provided that no article of dress shall be sent out of the house without the bill accompanying it; and all bills

shall be payable at three months at farthest, after which time five per cent. interest shall be charged. The principles thus laid down are all admirable; and should the company thrive, it will not only be followed by similar institutions, but it will exert a powerful influence in the way of reforming the older establishments.

Nor is it only the case of female workers with the needle that demands attention and reform. The situation of tailors is often equally lamentable. The very same evils afflict them—long hours, bad ventilation, crowded workshops,—inducing an accumulation of evils that are equally destructive to mind and body. The demoralization of the class is notorious. The very conditions under which many of them pursue their work are fitted to destroy them. The statements made in a recently-printed tract, 'An Appeal to the Journeymen Tailors of Glasgow,' by one of themselves, are very frightful. The writer tells me that he has been engaged in his trade in a considerable variety of places; but of all the workshops in which he has ever been, those of Glasgow are the worst. Could no 'commissioner' be set to work to visit and describe the 'pit-shops' of our towns, and prepare the way for a model tailoring establishment, similar to the 'London Dressmaking Company?'

We must endeavour to find room for a few words

on the plans that have been adopted in some of the printing-offices of the metropolis. In the *Times* printing-office, the late Mr. Walter, having an earnest desire to promote provident habits among the workmen, established several schemes with that view. Three years ago these embraced—(1.) a Savings Bank, into which the compositors and machine-men were required to pay certain rates, according to the amount of their wages; (2.) a Life Assurance Scheme, connexion with which was voluntary, but the annual premiums might be withdrawn from the Savings Bank. The number of policies at February 3, 1862, was seventy; (3.) a Sick Fund, formed from the contributions of the men, and from fines, and donations from the proprietors, managers, and overseers; and (4.) a Medical Fund, also supported by the contributions of the men, and entitling them to medical attendance in ordinary sickness. A refreshment-room is also provided for the benefit of the workmen, the charges for which are just above cost prices, and the profits are carried weekly to the credit of the Sick Fund.

In the extensive printing-offices of the Messrs. Spottiswoode, much attention has been given to the welfare of the men. One of the present partners very nobly devoted himself to the cause by living for several years in the same house with the apprentices, thus making them, as it were, members of his family.

The acquaintance and the influence which he thus gained have been of very great service, and have told very beneficially on the interests of the establishment. The arrangements of the offices of the Messrs. Spottiswoode, besides their excellent free libraries, present morning classes for the improvement of the readers, and evening classes for all; a Tuesday class, taught by the partner already referred to, and the members of his family; a music class, which has been very successful, and has been four years in operation; and annual excursions, in which one of the partners and his family usually accompany the men and their families. We have not made particular inquiries as to the arrangements for sickness; but they are similar, we presume, to those of other offices.

In the Messrs. Clowes' offices, Duke Street and Charing Cross, much attention is paid to the sick. The sick fund—supported by the contributions of the members and of the firm—besides making the usual allowances in sickness, provides for members the benefit of various hospitals, dispensaries, and infirmaries, when they are in circumstances to require their aid. By purchasing 'bath tickets' in large quantities, and retailing them at reduced rates, or giving them away, this firm promotes not merely the cleanliness, but the health and vigour which the use of cold water secures. For the annual holiday to the sea-side, the boys get tickets gratis, while any of the

men who choose to avail themselves of them are supplied at a reduced rate. Connected with this office, likewise, is a library of several hundred volumes, for the benefit of the men.

In Edinburgh, the Messrs. Chambers have long been honourably distinguished for their interest in their workpeople; and were it not that personal friendship warns me to be silent, I could say much of the admirable spirit of Mr. Constable, and the excellent arrangements and most interesting soirées of Messrs. Nelson, Hope Park.

In the galleries of the Exhibition of the Royal Academy, in 1864, there hung a prominent portrait, bearing to be that of 'Matthew Marshall, Esq., late cashier of the Bank of England, and first president of the Bank of England Library and Literary Association.' The union of titles sounds rather odd, and would naturally suggest an almost ludicrous combination of things great and small. We are sure our readers will not so view it. It is interesting to think that, in the greatest and busiest temple of Mammon in the world, there should be an institution showing, on the part at least of some of its heads, a desire that their servants should not be mere machines for aiding in the accumulation or distribution of wealth, but should have their intellectual and moral faculties cultivated and developed, and have facilities afforded

them for enjoyments more profitable than those of the tavern or billiard-room. The library was established in 1850. For the purchase of books the Court of Directors contributed £500, and £500 additional for fitting up the library. Various persons gave donations, amounting in some instances to £100 each. The library, which is a large and handsome room in the bank, contains about 10,000 volumes, besides reviews, magazines, and newspapers lying on the tables. At first, it was predicted by croakers that it would not last six months. It has gone on with much prosperity. Out of some 800 clerks in the Bank, about 500 are members, and the number of books taken out annually is 35,000. The subscription amounts to ten shillings a year, or as high as twenty shillings, according to salary. The library is managed by a committee of the subscribers, to whom the directors delegate the whole charge, being anxious that the clerks should take an interest in it as their own institution. To those who know the temptations which London presents to young men whose duties are over for the day at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, the moral value of an attractive library, open for them as soon as the Bank closes, will not appear to be slight. It has been a great advantage to the library to have had, from its commencement, as librarian and assistant-secretary, a devoted Christian man, who, for a salary little more than nominal,

has given himself heart and soul to its interests, at one time for a period of four consecutive years, never having been a day absent, and even in shattered health finding his consolation in the thought that no slight good has been done. It is an interesting evidence of the vitality of this library, that already one, if not two other libraries, have sprung from its loins. 'The Caxton Library' is the name of a similar, though necessarily humbler, institution, formed for the benefit of the printers and other mechanics employed in the Bank. And something, we have understood, is in the course of being done for the guard of soldiers who attend by night, and by their watchful vigils protect at once the slumbers of the directors and the treasures of the nation. How desirable it is that other banks and similar institutions, employing many young men, should do something of the same kind, we do not need to say.

We have been dealing in this chapter with monster establishments. We must not forget that there are hundreds of thousands throughout the kingdom of smaller dimensions. But there are none to which some at least of the principles enunciated in this chapter are not applicable. The smallness of any establishment is no reason why the effort should not be made to carry it on in a Christian way. Independently of the vast amount of good which would

result from the combined efforts of the heads of so many small establishments, the rule of the kingdom of Christ is ever to be remembered: 'Thou hast been faithful in a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things.'

CHAPTER VIII.

FARM-SERVANTS AND COUNTRY LABOURERS.

> 'And aye the burden of his sang
> For ever used to be,
> I care for naebody, no, not I,
> If naebody cares for me.'—OLD SONG.

NOWHERE are the steps of the social stair more distinct than in the country: first, proprietors; second, farmers; third, servants and labourers. To these a fourth caste may be added in the south of Scotland and north of England—emphatically called 'bondagers;' inheriting apparently the doom of Canaan, 'a servant of servants;' 'persons (says Mr. Milne Home) hired not by the farmers themselves but by their servants,—the rule being, when shepherds or hinds are engaged, that they shall hire a young man or a young woman to work on the farm. . . . In various ways, the bondaging system, which prevails in Berwickshire, Northumberland, and Roxburghshire, is doing a great deal of moral and social harm. I believe that the hinds and shepherds are themselves anxious to get rid of it.'

And so, we should think, must every man who has any regard to the honour of his country and the well-being of its people; for in these days of freedom, the 'bondager,' whether in name or in fact, ought not to be known in the dominions of Queen Victoria.

On the relation of proprietors to farmers, and especially to large farmers, I do not intend to dwell. Much the more urgent problem is that which concerns the relation of both proprietors and farmers to their servants and labourers. It is a relation capable of yielding an inexhaustible harvest of moral and social good, if carefully attended to; but sure, when neglected, to give rise to an infinite amount of mischief and misery. Probably there is no human relation in connexion with which the revelations of the day of judgment will bring out more appalling results,—will show more painfully the difference between what has been, and what might and ought to have been. Let us hope that, long before that awful day, the difference will be made conspicuous, and that proprietors and farmers will now run a noble race with manufacturers and merchants in the endeavour to elevate the condition of the people under them.

The temptation of proprietors to live for their own enjoyment, and that of farmers to think only of profit, demand from both classes a strenuous effort of conscience, a deliberate and holy resolution to

make the highest welfare of their workers a leading object of their lives. What *is* the design of Providence in arranging society in classes, and giving to some so many advantages over others, if it be not that the more favoured shall consider the case of the less favoured, and wisely and kindly help them to fight the battle and run the race? Usually proprietors and farmers have one great advantage over large manufacturers, in the fact that their workpeople are not massed together, but scattered over considerable tracts of country, rendering them, so to speak, more manageable, preserving their individuality, and making it easier for their masters to hold personal intercourse with them. In consequence of this, too, as Adam Smith remarked long ago, they are incapable of combining for their own benefit, and have far less facility for devising plans in concert for their improvement. They are more directly and thoroughly dependent on the kind attentions of their employers; and wise and generous masters will be stimulated by this consideration to try the more to promote their good.

The mighty revolution in the world of labour which has drawn so many thousands to work under the shadow of long chimneys has caused a great change in the social condition of the country districts. In former times weaving and spinning afforded both employment and remuneration to the families of

many country labourers, rendering them less exclusively dependent on the labour of the fields. All that is now swept away. There is hardly any domestic employment in country districts for the families of farm-labourers, and even their daughters have to toil in the fields. There is hardly any way of eking out scanty earnings by means of other employments. On the other hand, the large farm system has greatly increased the number of servants, and lessened the number of masters. Society in the country has passed into a new condition. It has undergone a change demanding the most thoughtful study on the part of the landlord and farmer classes, and the most strenuous efforts to adapt the new system, as far as possible, to the highest good of the people. If the subject is now beginning to engage the attention of the more earnest class of landlords and farmers, as we rejoice to know it is, they will be the foremost to lament the neglect of the past, and to urge double zeal in the application of remedies, which, if delayed much longer, will find the disease too inveterate to be cured.

Agricultural labourers, in Scotland at least, may commonly be divided into two classes: first, stated servants, such as ploughmen and shepherds, commonly hired by the half-year, and for whose accommodation the farmer has to make provision; and, second, occasional labourers, such as ditchers, drainers,

and harvest people, who are hired only when needed, and have to find accommodation where best they may. To these may be added various country mechanics and tradesmen — smiths, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, tailors, and the like, whom it is necessary to have dotted over the country, in all well-conditioned districts, especially in those numerous parts of Scotland where villages are rare, and where indifference on the part of the proprietor to their accommodation must cause the greatest inconvenience.

Speaking chiefly of the second of these classes, at a public meeting in Edinburgh, the Duke of Buccleuch remarked — 'It is extraordinary to observe the differences that exist on going through an English and a Scotch estate. On English estates, the occupiers [of cottages] look to the proprietor as their patron and friend, a person whom they can apply to; but in Scotland, they seem to have no sort of connexion, or not to feel that connexion which ought to subsist between the cottar and the proprietor.'

We apprehend that the proprietor is more to blame for this than the cottar. The noble Duke himself frankly owns that he is so; and, in a spirit beyond all praise, he has set himself to establish a direct bond of connexion between himself and his cottars, no longer allowing them to rent their houses from the farmers, but directly from himself; thus encourag-

ing them to look to him as their friend and counsellor, and compelling himself, so to speak, to embrace them in the circle of those for whose welfare he is bound to take thought. Of late years his Grace has built a great number of cottars' cottages on his estates; the only fault ever imputed to them is, that in some cases they are too good; that is to say, adapted for a mode of life which as yet is above the habits and beyond the income of the occupants.

The policy of his Grace contrasts very nobly with that of many proprietors, who have set themselves of late years to pull down the cottars' houses on their estates as fast as they became vacant. The excuse for this policy is given in the following conversation between a proprietor in one of the midland counties of Scotland and Mr. Scot Skirving, an extensive East Lothian farmer. 'Even the most considerate landlords and excellent country gentlemen,' Mr. Scot Skirving remarks, 'have been bit by the mania [against cottars' houses]. It was only lately that one such, residing in a midland county, remarked to me in the course of a casual conversation, "I pull down every old house I can lay my hands on, and I have rooted a goodly lot out of that village there." Accustomed as I was to such operations, I was startled to hear the sentiment so openly avowed by so excellent a man. I anxiously asked what motives induced him to do so. "Oh," replied he, "old cottages are

perfect nuisances; the farmers want them to stand, that they may fill them with low fellows who work cheaper than proper servants do—that is the secret of the whole outcry about the old houses; they want to collect a lot of poor wretches to work at reduced wages, and the tumble-down cottages just become nests of paupers, pilferers, and poachers." By the merest accident, in turning over the leaves of an old volume shortly after this conversation, my eye fell upon a passage describing the very village above alluded to, and the contrast was certainly curious between the present and the past mode of dealing with it. "During the last fourteen years," says the writer in 1792, "the village has increased by more than twenty per cent. This has arisen from the liberal encouragement given by the late proprietor to settlers on his estate. . . . There is no village in this country where the inhabitants have improved more of late years in comfort and convenience. Formerly, their dwellings were no better than small dirty hovels; now they are all neat, commodious houses, generally with two apartments, and well lighted." It is this village which is now voted a nuisance; it is the "neat, commodious houses" of 1792 that are being got rid of, and that by a most estimable country gentleman.'[1]

In beautiful contrast with the penny-wise and

[1] *Landlords and Labourers*, p. 22.

pound-foolish policy of this proprietor, I have the utmost pleasure in adverting to the system of cottars' houses and holdings pursued on the estates of one of the best landlords of Scotland, Mr. Hope Johnstone of Annandale, M.P. for Dumfriesshire, and under the superintendence of a most able and enlightened factor,—Mr. Stewart, of Hillside. When I first read Mr. Stewart's account of these operations in the Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society, I set him down in my own mind as one of those men whom God provides to perform *experimenta crucis*—to solve great problems in such a way as to leave little further to be desired. Since then I have visited the Annandale estate, in his company, and not on the strength of my own judgment only, which may be worth nothing, but of intelligent, practical, Christian men, thoroughly conversant with the subject, I do not hesitate to pronounce it as successful in practice as it is beautiful in theory.

According to the old plan on this estate, the labourers and country tradesmen held their houses from the farmers. About fifty years ago a change was introduced. The proprietor took the houses into his own hands. But instead of erecting all the new houses himself, being anxious to encourage no tenants who had not economy, industry, and steadiness, he in most cases supplied them only with timber, and with hewn freestone for rybats, jambs, chimneys,

etc., leaving each to build the house from his own resources. At first the tenant's outlay was from £26 to £40, according to size, but of late years, in consequence of the improved style of the houses, it has been considerably more. A lease of twenty-one years is granted, at a nominal rent of five shillings, and at the end of the lease the house becomes the proprietor's. A power is reserved of parting with the tenant at any time, the proportion of his outlay being repaid to him; but in only one or two instances, out of a hundred or more, has this power had to be made use of; tenants remaining undisturbed so long as they conduct themselves well, and when their leases are expired, readily receiving a renewal of them, at a very moderate rent.

Along with the house there is always a garden, and usually a few acres of ground—averaging about four—for which the cottar pays about £3 or £4. He is thus enabled to keep a cow and a pig, and to provide vegetables for his family, to say nothing of honey and other luxuries, besides having a source of healthful and pleasant labour, by means of which he may either employ himself wholly for a time, while other employment is scarce, or vary the monotony of shoemaking, or tailoring, or carpentering, by an hour or two in the field or the garden. The cottages are not placed in villages, but usually in detached situations, along the public road. Of late, considerable

attention has been paid to the selection of the most attractive spots. As situations of great natural beauty are abundant, in a rich and beautiful vale like Annandale, and as the more recently built cottages are often highly tasteful in design and execution, a visitor sometimes needs to remember the commandment, not to covet his neighbour's house. In the selection of tenants, the greatest importance is attached to character. Mr. Stewart is also at very great pains to ascertain that there is a fair prospect of a supply of work in the district for the tenant, before he allows him to build. The class of persons who tenant these houses are country labourers and tradesmen; also farmers' widows, retired and aged farmers, and, in a few cases, persons who have saved or had left to them sufficient money to support them. In the parish of Johnstone, the occupants of these houses amount to between a third and a fourth of the whole population.

But what are the results of this system, as regards the character and habits of the people? Listen, first of all, ye sagacious moles, who would extirpate pauperism by driving your labourers out of sight. '*There is scarcely an instance*,' says Mr. Stewart, '*of any of the families needing parish aid!*' Not only so, but aged widows have toiled to live and pay the rent from nothing but the produce of the cow, rather than come on the parish. In point of industry, intelligence, and superiority of character, these people

occupy a very high position. In the Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society for July 1859, a paper written by the Rev. P. Hope, a neighbouring clergyman, bears cordial and glowing testimony to the admirable moral and social results of the system. I have been told that there is hardly one of these houses that has not turned out a Latin scholar, and that it is mainly from this class that those sturdy sons of the Scottish peasant spring, who are ever pushing their way in the world, and becoming men of mark at home and abroad. Persons not acquainted with the rural population have difficulty in understanding how it raises the status of the labourer to become the possessor of a cottage built by himself on a long lease, and how, round this thread of crystallisation, as it were, the virtues of sobriety, and industry, and general elevation of character form themselves. The reader will not be surprised to learn that in three neighbouring parishes there is no public-house, or place of any kind for the sale of drink, and that habitual drunkards are unknown. Notwithstanding, the people have not yet degenerated into milksops, nor have any of those other appalling consequences happened, which those who would have public-houses everywhere predict as the results of the suppression of these nurseries of drunkenness. No weary traveller has yet been found lying exhausted and half dead for want of the stimulating

'gill.' No cloud of dulness or misery has yet settled down on this oasis of sobriety and thrift. It should be added, as another feature of the Annandale system, that while it is not deficient in large farms—having arable farms of 400 acres, and sheep-farms of 5000—it retains also a considerable number of small farms, interspersed among the larger; thus affording to the industrious and enterprising labourer the stimulus springing from the hope of becoming one day a farmer himself.

The problem of the farm-servant (as he is technically called in Scotland) is doubtless one of great difficulty; and yet, before an earnest, enlightened, Christian body of proprietors and farmers, its difficulties would speedily vanish. As it exists, the 'bothy' is the disgrace of Scotland, and the farm-kitchen is but a shade better, if even that. Whatever may be the best social system on farms where a large body of servants, male and female, is statedly employed and lodged, there can be little doubt that the bothy and the farm-kitchen, as they have usually been hitherto, are about the worst. I am not, however, prepared to say that either the one or the other must be wholly abolished. With Mr. Stuart of Oathlaw, I believe they may be greatly improved, and with their improvement, the habits and character of their inmates would improve too. But it must be so

perfectly apparent to every thinking man, that a number of young men, or of young women, living by themselves in a country barrack, or taking their meals together in a farm-kitchen, are exposed so inevitably to temptation, and are in such unfavourable circumstances for the attainment and development of what is good and holy, that the less that such establishments are resorted to the better. The proposal of Mr. Hope of Fenton Barns, that on each farm there should be twice as many cottages as there are required ploughs to work it, would go far to supersede the necessity of either bothy or farm-kitchen. In the first place, it would secure that a considerable part of the farm-servants should be married men (as in the Lothians), and therefore less liable to those wandering habits which are admitted to exercise so unfavourable an influence on young farm-servants. The sons and daughters of these would become available in due time for the work of the farm. Secondly, in some of these cottages accommodation would be found for a number of unmarried workers, especially if there were here and there a widow's cottage, or that of a young couple without family, with whom unmarried young men or women might lodge, just as they do in towns. If the bothy be in any case inevitable, let every effort be made to strip it of its worst features. Mr. Stuart of Oathlaw, who has earned a right to be heard on this subject, says :—

'Every bothy ought to have a cooking and a sleeping apartment; the one furnished with a strong table, and chairs with high backs, well bolted and stayed with iron rods; and the other with small iron bedsteads, *one for each man;* both these apartments of healthful dimensions and construction. The sleeping apartment floored with wood, well lathed on the walls, quite free of damp, warm, yet well ventilated with ventilating flues.' Mr. Stuart quotes from Mr. Laing's *Residence in Norway*, an account of a bothy there, 'consisting of one large well-lighted room with four windows, a good stove or fire-place, a wooden floor, with benches, chairs, and a table. At the end was a kitchen, attended to by a servant, and the space above was divided into bedrooms, each with a window.' Going forth on a sort of knight-errant's tour, to try to discover such a bothy in Scotland, he came at last upon one, 'having a large kitchen substantially furnished, and above this a large, well-lighted and ventilated room, with six iron beds in it for six men. At a window stood a large writing-desk, on which lay an arithmetic book, with a slate, having on it the solution or work of a question in vulgar fractions. Now, this little fact,' he adds, 'even of itself, tells what these men would do, if they had something better than the lid of their trunk for all purposes. Most of them are fond of writing and counting. Writing letters to their friends would have

the very best effects upon their minds, as it has upon the minds of soldiers; and some officers commanding them encourage this practice by all manner of means with this view; for it has the next best effect upon them to personal social intercourse with their friends, but which neither they nor ploughmen can often have. Yet what convenience has a bothy lad for this? Only down on his knees to the lid of a trunk, or on the bellows, or on a slate-stone on his knees. Good correspondents as we all may be, and valorous scribbler as I myself am, I much fear our letters would be greatly fewer and further between, if we had to take this way of it while penning them.'[1]

Before leaving the subject of the domestic condition of farm-labourers, let me advert to the exertions recently made by some of the great proprietors of England to improve the cottages on their properties. Pre-eminent among these were the late Duke of Northumberland and the late Duke of Bedford. The number of new cottages erected of late years on the Northumberland estates is nearly 1400, besides which a great many more have been repaired. In ten years this nobleman spent a third of a million in improvements, drainages, and buildings. The late Duke of Bedford had erected in 1857 about 600

[1] *Agricultural Labourers as they Were, Are, and Should be in their Social Condition.* By the Rev. H. Stuart, A.M., Minister of Oathlaw. Pp. 49, 50.

cottages on his various estates, setting an example to other landholders both in word and deed. The exertions of His Grace are a worthy commentary on his own memorable words :—'To improve the dwellings of the labouring class, and afford them the means of greater cleanliness, health, and comfort in their homes; to extend education, and thus raise the social and moral habits of those most valuable members of the community, *are among the first duties, and ought to be the truest pleasures of every landlord.*'[1]

The *recreation* of country labourers is a subject of no ordinary importance. Amusement of some kind they should have, and they must have. Their employment is protracted and arduous; nature herself craves some mode of unbending; and if harmless or improving pleasures are not to be procured, recourse will be had, except by those in whom the new nature bears sway, to unwholesome excitement.[2] Fairs and

[1] See *Social Science Transactions for* 1857, 'Houses for Working Men. By Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, Rector of Holdersby.'

[2] A friend writes to me thus: 'I remember being much struck, on reading some records of Brixton Prison, by a prison matron, at what was said of the periodical outbreaks of some of the convicts. The monotony of prison life, with its rules and regulations, was broken in on by the prisoners occasionally bursting through all restraint, and smashing everything on which they could lay their hands. The punishment for this was confinement in the dark cell. I have a strong conviction that the monotony of labour requires occasional excitement; that we who live in the country are all guilty in not providing some amusement or recreation of a rational kind; that in consequence,

feeing-markets, degrading though they be in many of their accompaniments, are popular in Scotland, because they afford the opportunity of letting out the craving for excitement, and because they are a recognised holiday to the men of the farm. In the opinion of some of the most enlightened and Christian friends of the farm-servant, the abolition of these fairs and markets, without any substitute for the social enjoyment they provide, is not to be desired. An admirable friend in the north of Scotland, who, as a factor and a farmer, as well as an elder of the Church, has had much experience of farm-labourers, suggests that, if feeing-markets were abolished, certain annual holidays should be given to the people instead. On these holidays, it should be the object of Christian farmers and proprietors, in conjunction with ministers and others, to provide suitable amusement. 'Exhibitions of the magic-lantern, with good slides (writes my northern friend), are the means of great enjoyment to the working people. On the night of the marriage of the Prince of Wales we had such an exhibition; the largest schoolroom we had was crowded, and the exuberant mirth told the delight of the audience. Concerts and musical societies should be more en-

the labouring rural population have found for themselves enjoyments the most sensual, and even debasing, and such a taste for these has been created that the simple pleasures we now offer are spurned by a vitiated appetite.'

couraged. The knowledge of music is again becoming very general in Scotland; and it is opening to the people a source of amusement which will, I sincerely hope, grow year by year.' Where magic-lanterns are not easily to be obtained, the diagrams of the Working-Men's Educational Union would afford material for an interesting and instructive entertainment. Pic-nics, when the weather is fine, have been suggested as suitable for such holidays as are proposed; if the party were countenanced by the presence of the master and his family, no evil effects would be likely to follow. In general, we may say that anything that could show the labouring class of the country, as well as the town, that rational enjoyment and healthy excitement are possible without intoxicating drink, would be of unspeakable value.

Whatever goes to elevate the intellectual character of the labouring population must have a beneficial effect on the labourers of the farm. The improvement of common schools, the institution of night classes, the circulation of wholesome periodicals and useful books, and the delivery of popular lectures, may all be referred to as desirable for the improvement of this class. In speaking of schools and education, special emphasis should be laid on one thing, —schools for the industrial training of girls. There is a great danger of the young females of the country losing all the delicacy and beauty of the female

character, and becoming utterly coarse and rough, through the influence of the out-door employment which they must follow now-a-days. Industrial schools would have some tendency to check this influence; all the more if the ladies of the parish took an active interest in them, and by their kindly and affectionate ways won the hearts of the girls attending them. Proprietors and farmers might do much good by taking an active interest in the schools around them. In the few cases where this has been done, the good effects have been most marked and encouraging. The late Earl of Aberdeen was full of a plan by which the farmers' sons were to give instruction on winter evenings to the farm lads in their neighbourhood. Some progress had been made in getting this plan into working order on his Lordship's estates, which his lamented and premature death unhappily arrested.

But the greatest and best thing of all that proprietors and farmers can do for their servants is to promote their spiritual and eternal welfare. The subject is a delicate one, for in many cases, in their neglect of these highest concerns, the proprietor and the farmer are as backward as any. If it be so, may it not stagger them to think that in every single thing that bears on that endless existence, of which this life is but the first moment, they—the natural guides and leaders of their people, and so much their superiors

in education and position—are emitting no spark of light, and exercising no atom of wholesome influence! Where the desire exists for the spiritual good of the men, let it show itself in some suitable way. 'For purely religious advancement,' says the farmer already quoted, 'I hold *Bible classes* to be one of the best means, though they are attended by but a limited portion, and the picked labourers. When I lived in the district of Old Deer I had a very successful and numerously-attended Bible class, pretty fairly representing the district. It had a most wholesome influence. Once I asked them all to tea to my own house. About twenty-seven came. I had music and other amusements provided, and they thoroughly enjoyed themselves. If such classes could be made to cover the land, they would, with God's blessing, do infinite good.'

An earnest, affectionate, practical ministry, interesting itself specially in the welfare of the labouring class, and coming into contact with them in every practicable way, is the greatest of all levers of Christian elevation. On the basis of the glorious Gospel, with its offer of free pardon and full salvation, let the lessons of grace be pressed, that 'denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.' Let the farm-labourers be given to understand that whether or not man has a feeling of interest in them, the

heart of Christ is brim-full of sympathy for all that labour and are heavy laden; and that whether, like the damsel of Moab, the Lord may grant them that they find rest in this world or no, they are sure, if only they seek it through Christ, of finding the rest that remaineth for the people of God. In its practical applications, let the truth be brought home to their actual difficulties, temptations, sorrows, yearnings; there will be no cause then for the preacher to complain of listless hearers, and a bond of great strength and enduring vitality will be formed between him and them. I have little right to speak from personal experience; but the first thing I ever did in the way of 'better days for working people' was to preach a sermon of this kind to farm-servants, as soon as I was settled in a country parish in Aberdeenshire. I remember, with lively interest, the large and eager audience that met me on that occasion; and I have cause to believe that even that little effort was not in vain.

In Mr. Stuart's most deservedly popular pamphlet on agricultural labourers, there is one thing he is never tired of urging—and all my experience goes strongly and entirely to support him—the good effects of *kindly personal dealing*. I believe it is the main thing in which the old times were 'good old times,' that they witnessed so much more of this than is now to be found. So much is now done by dele-

gates and substitutes, and there is so much of absenteeism, and so much also of cold and distant hauteur, that in large tracts of country the kindly sympathies of former times are almost wholly obliterated. Mr. Stuart tells of a nobleman he knew, than whom no one better kept up the dignity of his rank, who might be seen at every fair, going through and through it, looking out for and shaking hands with the humblest of his tenantry and crofters. 'Many years after, but not twenty [thirty] years ago, when that same nobleman's affairs got embarrassed from, I believe, no fault of his own, I happened to be visiting in the same district at the time he had to break up his establishment there, and to leave it for a season; and the lamentation I witnessed among all classes on the occasion, I should be afraid to describe, as being incredible.' Many of them had deposited money in his hands, but their personal loss was nothing compared to their sorrow at his departure. When he came back to the estate, though without any control over it, the hearty welcome they gave him went far to soothe him in his altered circumstances. The feeling was shared by all classes; for even those who had never spoken to him caught the spirit that filled the hearts of all who knew him.

Tennyson, with his strong social sympathies, has given us a photograph of such a landlord :—

'And there we saw Sir Walter where he stood
Before a tower of crimson holly-oaks,
Among six boys, head under head, and look'd
No little lily-handed baronet he,
A great broad-shoulder'd genial Englishman,
A lord of fat prize-oxen and of sheep,
A raiser of huge melons and of pine,
A patron of some thirty charities,
A pamphleteer on guano and on grain,
A quarter-sessions chairman, abler none;
Fair-hair'd and redder than a windy morn;
Now shaking hands with him, now him, of those
That stood the nearest—now address'd to speech—
Who spoke few words and pithy, such as closed
Welcome, farewell, and welcome for the year
To follow: a shout arose again and made
The long line of the approaching rookery swerve
From the elms, and shook the branches of the deer
From slope to slope through distant ferns, and rang
Beyond the bourn of sunset; O, a shout
More joyful than the city roar that hails
Premier or king! Why should not these great Sirs
Give up their parks some dozen times a year
To let the people breathe? So thrice they cried,
I likewise, and in groups they streamed away.'

CHAPTER IX.

SAILORS AND SOLDIERS.

'In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of life,
Be not like dumb driven cattle,
Be a hero in the strife.'—LONGFELLOW.

NO class of men have stronger claims on their employers, for the means of social comfort, and of moral and religious improvement, than sailors. Without quite adopting Dr. Johnson's idea, that going aboard a ship is just entering 'a prison, with the chance of being drowned,' we can see at a glance, in the ordinary life of a seaman, privations and anomalies enough to bear out the remark we have just made. Separated from home and family, and from church and school, at a distance from all the means of improvement and enjoyment that are within reach of landsmen, and deprived of the opportunity of privacy and retirement, the seaman seems the very man whose social welfare should occupy the most earnest attention of his employers, and on whose behalf, both afloat and ashore, the most careful

arrangements ought to be made. In place of this, till lately, seamen were the class who were abandoned to most utter neglect, less being done on their behalf than for any other body of working men. The deplorable results are too well known. In the midst of his best friends, Jack's noble qualities, associated as they had come to be with most degrading vices, could only awaken the feeling of bitter sorrow and regret; and his career was too commonly one of hard constraint at sea, and utter recklessness ashore. Being in many foreign countries the only representative of the British name and the Christian religion, the profligacy in which he so often indulged had a most baneful influence on the reputation of both. In a material point of view, the loss arising from the recklessness of seamen was enormous. Captain Toynbee, of the 'Hotspur,' in a recent appeal 'to the Shipowners of England,' mentions the case of a gentleman who told him that his firm lost nearly £20,000 in a few years through sailors running away, and changing their names. In the British Navy the medical returns for 1860 show the number of men daily inefficient from disease and injury as 3426, or about a twentieth of the whole force—equal to the effective strength of four or five ships of the line. One-sixth of this sum of disease is ascertained to proceed from a single vice; and one half of the whole is believed to result from sensuality in some

shape or another. The ships lost, even since the beginning of this century, through the unsteadiness of seamen, if brought together would form a fleet greatly larger and immensely more valuable than was ever seen in any harbour in the kingdom.

But both in the navy and in the merchant service of late years, cases have occurred of a more considerate and Christian treatment of seamen, with the same beautiful results which have followed the like measures in other employments and services. Of our Arctic heroes, the name of more than one is honourably associated with these measures. Parry, Franklin, and Scoresby—all devoted Christian men—were remarkable for the affection and care they bestowed on their seamen, and the delightful results that rewarded their efforts. In Parry's voyages, to while away the tedium of an Arctic winter, besides masquerades and concerts, and exhibitions of the magic-lantern, and the publication of the 'North Georgian Gazette and Winter Chronicle,' there were schools and meetings for religious worship and instruction that left the happiest results. 'I have often wished,' said Sir Edward Parry on a public occasion, 'when paying my usual visits to our little schools, that the friends of the Naval and Military Bible Society, or even its enemies (if any such there can be), could for a moment have been transported to the "Hecla's" lower deck. They would there have

seen a whole ship's company gradually drawing round the school tables to hear the word of God expounded, they would have seen each individual listening with eager and mute attention, and, literally, those who came to scoff remaining to pray. . . . The effect was simply this, that the very best men on board the "Hecla,"—those, I mean, who were always called upon in time of especial difficulty and danger,—were, without exception, those who had thought the most seriously on religious subjects; and that, if a still more scrupulous selection were to be made of that number, the choice would, without hesitation, fall on two or three individuals eminently Christian. Such has been the result of my own observation and experience. Should I be employed on a similar service, and were you to ask what men I would select, I would say, "Give me the best Christians," for then we should be strong indeed, strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might.'[1]

Hardly less interesting is the account given to a Parliamentary committee by the Rev. W. Whitmarsh, of the operations on board the 'Sanspareil,' under his chaplaincy, and with the aid of Captain Dacres, about the time of the Crimean War. A private library established among the officers raised a desire among the men to have a private library of their own also, independently of the ship's library, to be

[1] *Memoirs of Sir Edward Parry*, pp. 208-9.

their own property, and under their own management. An adult school was set agoing, whose furniture at first consisted of a single table, between the guns, on the main-deck. That was very soon found to be insufficient; and at Constantinople three other tables were procured, and all of them were full every evening, except Sunday, from six to eight, the attendance averaging 200 each evening. In consequence of these and similar measures, the whole character of the ship in the lower-deck underwent a change. The master-at-arms told the chaplain that he could not have believed such a change could have taken place. The school provided occupation for the men not only in school hours but also below, in assisting each other, and talking over what they had been learning. Punishments underwent a remarkable diminution, mainly (as the Captain and others felt) because the men had now useful occupation for their leisure hours. The evening before Odessa was attacked, the 'Sanspareil' was told off as a reserve ship to go in the morning, in case of need. When the chaplain went to the main-deck that evening he found that the school tables were all cleared away, but a man was waiting as a deputation to thank him for all that had been done for them in the school. Not knowing what might happen to them the following day, they wished to thank him while they had the opportunity, and had all turned out, waiting for his

appearance. Besides the regular school, it was found that many of the men employed themselves below in assisting those who were not so far advanced, so that there was a sort of secondary school at work also on the lower-deck. Among others who attended was a black man, who began with learning his strokes in writing, till at last he wrote very fairly. Many of the men became warrant-officers, and four years afterwards the chaplain was sought out and thanked by a colour-sergeant, and by a young warrant-officer, only twenty-three years of age, who ascribed their promotion to his advice and instruction.[1] So generally was the method of Mr. Whitmarsh appreciated, that when, on leaving the 'Sanspareil,' he went on board Lord Lyon's ship, the 'Agamemnon,' many of the men and petty officers there came to ask him whether he would not establish a library and an evening school for them, similar to those in the 'Sanspareil.' One very important and significant circumstance is oftener than once alluded to by Mr. Whitmarsh—the vigorous co-operation of Captain Dacres (now Rear-Admiral Sir Sydney Dacres), who went round the tables almost every evening, talking to the men personally, and giving them every possible encouragement.[2] Besides Captain Dacres, Sir William Parker and Sir James Hope are men-

[1] *Army and Navy Review*, September 1864.
[2] Select Committee on Navy Promotion and Retirement, p. 278.

tioned as having encouraged their chaplains in similar labours.

In 1857-62 a devoted officer of a depot-ship at Devonport so skilfully contrived things, that it was no uncommon thing for the men to prefer spending their evenings on board their ships, instead of accepting the indulgence of 'liberty' ashore. Five different parts of the ship were set apart each evening for the use of the crew; one as a library and reading-room, with popular games and the best periodicals; another as an adult school; a third as a compulsory school for backward boys; a fourth as a singing-room, and the fifth as a prayer-meeting room. During winter a popular lecture was delivered every fortnight. Ashore, the men of this ship were always noted for their neat dress and courteous behaviour; and such was their appreciation of the benefits, that the punishment most dreaded was to be discharged to another ship. As chairman of the lectures, and visitor of the schools, the captain gave his personal support to these plans for doing good to the crew.

The good effects of a cordial understanding between the chaplain and the captain were evinced, in the case of the 'Revenge,' in 1842-3. In that ship, a short daily service was established—an exceedingly rare thing in those days, though more common now. The twenty or thirty men who assembled on these occasions exercised a powerful influence on the

whole of the ship's company. On Sunday afternoons the chaplain visited the lower-deck, chatted with those who were reading their Bibles, or commented in a suitable way on whatever was going on. Several of the commissioned ward-room and gun-room officers joined his Sunday class, and gave an influence to his teaching which could not otherwise have been attained. The officers of the 'Hastings' in the Baltic speak to this day of their chaplain, whom they regarded with the utmost affection. In those days, intercourse with the lower-deck was seldom maintained by clergymen; but among other things, this gentleman was in the habit of attending two hours every day in his cock-pit cabin, as amanuensis to those who could not write their own letters.[1] This is another instance of what I have so often dwelt on—the magical power of a personal interest and sympathy with the men. It brings to mind an anecdote which a distinguished officer tells of himself, when, as a young officer, about thirty years ago, he joined a sloop in the Mediterranean as first lieutenant. He was grieved to find swearing very common, and determined to try to stop it in the 'middle watch,' which he was appointed to keep. With this view he learned the name of each of the two dozen men that were to keep it with him, and at midnight, when he mustered them, he called each by his name

[1] *Army and Navy Gazette*, September 1864, p. 248.

without using a book. The men had an instinctive veneration for the stranger who knew each of them individually. In a fortnight every oath had been given up, by the force of the new lieutenant's example.[1]

Turning from the navy to the merchant service, we meet with one of the most instructive and genial guides to the wise management of seamen, in Captain Scoresby,—afterwards the Rev. Dr. Scoresby, vicar of Bradford. Besides lighter ways of interesting his men, he devoted himself very earnestly to their religious improvement; and so early as his 30th year, he gives in his Journal the following account of the results of religious services on board the 'Baffin':—

'For several years I have been in the habit of reading prayers and sermons weekly to the sailors under my charge, and latterly of having select devotional meetings on the Sabbath evenings; but never, until this voyage, did anything beneficial result that came to my knowledge. But on this occasion the power of Divine grace has been irresistible and astonishing. Besides the usual means, of reading an abridgment of the Church of England liturgy in the morning and afternoon of every Sabbath-day, with one of Burder's, or Kidd's, or Young's sermons, I occasionally substituted for the latter an extempore address, suited to the peculiar opinions, circumstances, or habits of the men about me; and in the

[1] *Army and Navy Gazette*, November 1864, p. 450.

evening of the day summoned the apprentices (with permission for others who chose to attend), and after hearing them read in the Bible and sing a hymn, I engaged in prayer, sometimes made some remarks on what had been read, and concluded with another hymn. Finding the seriousness and attention of the Sunday-evening congregation gradually augmented and the numbers also increasing; observing also a decided change in the conduct of some of the crew (especially in one man, who had been at the beginning of the voyage a dissatisfied and querulous character), I urged on some of the people, who were seriously disposed, the necessity of assembling among themselves for devotional exercises, for fanning the religious spark into a flame in those who were beginning to be enlightened, and for establishing themselves in religious strength and vigour. This request was carried into effect about the 13th of August. At first only a small number attended, and these met with great opposition, derision, and persecution from their shipmates; but my authority and address to them having put an end to this annoyance, they met with increasing comfort, and obtained a striking blessing. Twice the little church met in my cabin—the number of seriously disposed amounting to eleven. On inquiring into their Christian experience, it was delightful to see the tears of genuine and unaffected contrition streaming down the

weather-beaten cheeks of a sailor who had entered on the voyage a careless, devotionless, and wicked character. There were, of the number who attended, *four* who gave the most hopeful evidences of having obtained a "new heart" during the voyage. All of them, at the outset, were without concern for their souls; all of them were profane and gross swearers, and some of them far from being faithful servants to their employers. Now the whole of them, to use their own expression, "have knocked off swearing;" all attend most diligently to the reading of religious tracts and the Bible; all are constant attendants at every meeting for worship; and all of them give pleasing and forcible evidences of genuine conversion to God. One of the four, I have anticipated, was at the first of the voyage a dissatisfied, quarrelsome, and impudent character. His conduct towards myself was extremely displeasing; but after being a month or two at sea, I remarked an extraordinary change. He ceased to associate with the crew—became tractable, obedient, and obliging, and in fact distinguished himself as one of the most able and orderly sailors in the ship. In addition to these four, an equal number profess themselves to have been greatly strengthened and established in religion, and two or three more appear to be under serious impressions.'[1]

[1] *Life of Dr. Scoresby*, pp. 177-179.

In the same spirit, but with a more comprehensive idea of the social wants of seamen, Captain Toynbee, of the 'Hotspur,' carries on his own work, and urges other commanders of vessels, as well as shipowners generally, to act. I have before me a variety of papers, in some of which this zealous seaman implores the shipowners of England to provide 'married sailors' homes' for the families of sailors in our principal ports, while in others he summons the friends of British seamen in Calcutta to make provision for their welfare there. 'That many thousands would avail themselves of any facilities given them for self-improvement and amusement is proved,' he says, 'by the ready way in which they have attended the lectures given at the Floating Library off Colvin's Ghaut: with an audience of about 200, nothing could be more orderly than their conduct, and it did one's heart good to see how thoroughly they enjoyed what they understood. We have also a very good attendance at our evening school on board the 'Hotspur,' where navigation, reading, writing, arithmetic, and even French, are being taught; some of the forecastle scholars are making good progress in navigation, and on alternate evenings at our readings we generally muster at least a dozen to hear *Peter Simple*, or some other amusing book.

'These are the grounds for appealing to the Government and inhabitants of Calcutta on behalf of sea-

men, and for asking them to build a sailors' institute, with cricket, quoit, and skittle-grounds attached. The institute should contain rooms for reading, lectures, an evening school, and refreshments; and as most sailors here have ships, and all ought to have homes, no intoxicating drink should be sold there, but iced water, lemonade, etc., and any slight eatables for which there was found to be a demand. A good swimming-bath would be a great advantage, and one which would be appreciated, for several sailors each evening go to some place in the fort which is provided for soldiers to bathe, and is, I believe, forbidden to the public, though Jack seems to succeed in getting in.' [1]

The remarks that follow, on the duties of ship-captains, are of so much value, and so full of practical suggestions, that we make no excuse for copying them entire :—

'If every commander of a ship were a real Christian, he would take a deep interest in the welfare of his crew; they are changed in his eyes from being mere machines, from whom he has to get as much work as possible for their pay, into immortal beings travelling through a most important stage of their existence, which will land them in an eternity of bliss or woe; yes, the dirtiest, most ignorant, and degraded scamp on board any ship in this

[1] Proceedings of a Public Meeting in Calcutta, p. 3.

port is capable of becoming a new creature in Christ Jesus.

'Here, then, is a work which will give a noble employment to our spare time; let us take an interest in the immortal souls placed for so many months under our charge, often without any one else to look up to for spiritual teaching; let us respect Sunday, lend them useful books, take an interest in their bodily comforts, think for them, and show them that we really wish to make them happy, and, above all, strive to let them learn from us that example is better than precept.

'There are many ways in which sailors' comforts may be much increased without in any way interfering with, but indeed really helping the interests of the owners; such as taking good care of the sick, sometimes a little spare space may be devoted to them, letting the men go to their meals regularly, giving them time to wash their clothes and forecastle, letting them have rain-water to wash their flannels, and themselves on Sundays; very often a bucket of fresh water may be spared to each mess on Sundays when there is no chance of a ship running short. Towards the end of a passage, too, a ship sometimes has a tin of preserved potatoes in broach, or a box of raisins, which will be useless for another voyage; then if they are kindly given to the crew, with an order to the cook to cook them as well as possible, they will

appreciate it. In fact, if we make it our study and our prayer that we may have wisdom given us to do our duty to our crews, as well as to the owners of the ship and cargo, then hundreds of little ways will come to mind. We have found a morning school at sea, and an evening school in port very useful, and I may add, that if a man wishes to master a subject himself, he will gain wonderfully by trying to teach what he knows of it to others.

'If all commanders would work for the spiritual welfare of their men, they would do much towards fore-arming them against their tremendous temptations when they get on shore, and might lead them to encourage sailors' homes, to subscribe to pension and life insurance funds, and to leave their wives comfortably located in married sailors' homes, where they would not meet with such temptations and discomforts during the husband's absence as they do now.

'Here, gentlemen, is full employment for spare time; calms and foul winds will not then be felt so grievous, and a pleasant feeling of mutual confidence will be established on board.'

On the importance of sailors' homes, schools, and chapels, and other institutions for promoting the welfare of seamen and their families ashore, much might be written, but space forbids. But before passing from the subject of sailors, I must briefly

notice one of those quiet plans which a single zealous individual may easily work to very great advantage. Several years ago, Mr. Wright, a pious Glasgow merchant, desirous of remedying in some degree the sad want of religious ordinances among sailors at sea, procured a number of suitable sermons from popular and earnest preachers, and printed them in a volume at his own expense. In most of the seaports of England and Scotland, he got a clergyman or a lay friend to present in his name a copy to every ship-captain going on a long voyage, who should pledge his word that, weather permitting, he would read one of the sermons every Lord's day to his crew. The Rev. John Thomson, of Leith, from whom I have heard of this scheme, tells me that he has presented sixty or seventy copies of the volume during the last fifteen years, receiving in every case the promise to make use of it, and having reason to believe that in most cases it has been fulfilled. To give an idea of the extent of this work, he adds that, in one of his letters to him, Mr. Wright incidentally mentioned that he had in one year spent £100 in prosecuting this scheme.

The successful management of the ARMY, in its social aspects, seems to me one of the most difficult problems of the day. It can hardly fail for a time to be a problem of increasing difficulty, because the

ever-growing sense of freedom that pervades the class from whom soldiers come must render it more and more difficult to maintain among them that high discipline and strict obedience to orders on which the efficiency of the army depends. The great danger of the soldier's life is, that the restraints to which he is subjected in some ways, are apt to cause a reaction towards unwholesome license and excitement, wherever that can be found. The sphere of pleasure may seem to him the only one where he has any freedom, and he may be tempted, as he often is, to burst every restraint, and take his full swing of liberty in that single sphere. The remedy may be difficult, but it is not impossible. With God's blessing, the mass of soldiers may be brought, through the progress of intelligence and Christian self-control, and an enlightened view of the demands of the service, to submit cheerfully to restraints that would otherwise be intolerably irksome. In the sphere of recreation, they may become acquainted with pleasures that, if less exciting, are far more healthy, lasting, and blessed. It is eminently satisfactory to find that it is in these directions that the friends of the soldier are using their efforts. They are not dreaming of a resuscitation of the feudal system. They are not for keeping the soldier in ignorance, or treating him 'like dumb driven cattle.' The experiment now in progress in connexion with the army is one

of extraordinary interest; and to carry it on, there is a degree of enthusiasm and Christian earnestness at work from which every philanthropist may learn very valuable lessons.

The second 'Report of the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries, and Recreation-Rooms,' has just been issued. It is hardly necessary for me to advert to the earnestness it shows in the matter of schools; I would rather devote the little space remaining to the matter of libraries and recreation-rooms.

Both of these institutions are now receiving a large share of countenance from the army authorities. There are libraries at all the garrison stations, and at almost all those of the artillery and the engineers, with a total of 160,446 volumes, of which 92,791 were in circulation last year. As in most other libraries, works of fiction are the most popular, and after these, voyages and travels. Popular lectures were delivered during the winter of 1863-4 at 47 stations at home, and 17 foreign stations. The total number delivered at 56 stations was 1052, of which 43 were given by officers, 58 by chaplains, and the remainder by the army schoolmasters. The number in attendance varied from 6, the lowest, to 700, the highest. At some stations concerts were also given. Magic-lanterns have been supplied to all

large garrisons where required. These have been extremely popular everywhere.

Recreation-rooms will hereafter form one of the most prominent features of our barracks. In most, they exist already; but when the new regulations are carried out, each regiment will possess a building 130 feet long, and 33 feet broad, containing two commodious rooms for reading and games. These will be supplied at the public expense with furniture, games, utensils, fuel, and light. It is intended to furnish the walls with maps and charts, and with diagrams on subjects of useful and interesting information. A grant of fifty shillings a year is made to each troop, company, and battery; private subscription providing the rest of the funds needed for supplying the recreation-room with newspapers, periodicals, etc.

These institutes will be managed by the non-commissioned officers and men, under the general supervision of the commanding officer. 'Already,' says the Military Council in their report, 'the system has been entered upon with much spirit by many regiments; and where accommodation cannot be afforded, great anxiety is evinced to obtain the means of establishing the system.'

So far, so good; but we venture to say that to make these admirable arrangements work successfully, nearly everything will depend on the officers

taking a lively interest in them, and using their best exertions to promote their success; not, however, authoritatively, but in a friendly way. Already, ominous hints are dropt here and there of want of success, and the absence of such friendly interest is the cause assigned. Lieut.-Col. Romer reports from Malta, that 'notwithstanding the efforts that have been made, and the expense which is borne by the country in maintaining these schools, I scarcely think, as regards the adult classes, they have yielded adequate results; nor in my opinion will they, until commanding officers of regiments are led to take a more decided interest in them, and a more comprehensive view of what should constitute the making of a soldier in the present day.' Another inspector remarks in the same strain: 'The interest of commanding officers in the work of education has a most material influence upon the progress of adult instruction in a regiment. It is not too much to say that where the colonel is himself anxious for the improvement of his men, one of the principal difficulties which retard that improvement has been removed.' The institution of adult schools, and of recreation-rooms and libraries, and the anxiety of the authorities to encourage public lectures and other means of elevating the soldier, afford noble opportunities to officers of all grades to fulfil one of the highest purposes of their being—advance the welfare of their fellow-men.

We have yet to glance at some of the arrangements that are in operation for the highest welfare of the soldier. How usefully the labours of chaplains may be supplemented by those of pious officers, both in the hospitals and out of them, we know from the biographies of such men as Havelock, and Vicars, and Hammond. Few of the religious societies have found a wider field, or done more good, than the Army Scripture Readers' and Soldiers' Friend. Of the noble Christian zeal of Mrs. Daniell, and other friends of the soldier, the Aldershott Mission Hall and Soldiers' Institute is a blessed monument. It combines the attractive features of a recreation and refreshment hall, with the higher attributes of a Christian mission. Among the wives and children of married soldiers, the zeal of the wives and daughters of officers may find an abundant and most important sphere of usefulness. God speed the day when the passion for the race of Christian philanthropy, in the cause both of soul and body, shall be universal![1]

[1] In illustration of what may be done by single officers, I should have liked to dwell on the remarkable transformation of the Duke of York's Asylum, Chelsea, made by my very able friend, Dr. Graham Balfour, F.R.S.; the revolution in army cooking effected by Captain John Grant; and the organization of the corps of *commissionnaires* by Captain Walters.

CHAPTER X.

HINTS FOR ALL.

'The world's a room of sickness where each heart
Knows its own anguish and unrest;
The truest wisdom there, and noblest art,
Is his who skills of comfort best;
Whom by the softest step and gentlest tone
Enfeebled spirits own,
And love to raise the languid eye
When, like an angel's wing, they feel him floating by.'

KEBLE.

IT is not always wise, when you are getting up a public collection for a charitable object, to have no small sums in your subscription list. Many a one who would cheerfully have contributed five or ten shillings, is frightened from contributing anything when he finds that no one before him has given less than ten or twenty or a hundred pounds. In like manner, the very magnitude and completeness of some of the plans which have been detailed in this book for benefiting the condition of workmen, may frighten many employers from attempting anything. Operations on so large a scale being quite out of their reach, they may be tempted to fold their hands,

and let the matter alone. But the fact is, that much may be done without the formality of plans; and sometimes what is thus done is more efficient than what is attempted by a great parade of fixed and formal arrangements.

To gain the hearts of the people must be the first aim of a judicious employer; and for this end, little things have often more influence than great. If the question be asked, What is it that the hearts of the poorer classes crave on the part of those above them—what is it that changes the cold feeling of dislike into the cordial spirit of attachment in manly and independent bosoms?—the answer is: Sympathy, consideration, brotherly feeling. They cannot bear a state of things that seems to proclaim a thorough separation of caste between high and low; they yearn for some token of brotherhood, some practical refutation of Darwin, and recognition of the unity of mankind,—some channel by which feelings of affection and brotherhood may circulate between high and low. It is not always great and expensive plans undertaken by the one on behalf of the other that will fulfil this yearning; for rich men can build model stables for their horses, and kennels for their dogs, as well as schools or institutes for their people. That which is born of the flesh is flesh. There must be the play of a living sympathy, the warm glow of kindness radiating from the heart, to gain the heart

of a poorer brother. Nothing can resist the charm of sympathy. A gentleman in business, in need of some banking accommodation, once applied successively to two bankers for the favour. The first declined, and the second granted it; but the one in declining, showed such kindly sympathy, and the other in assenting, such gruff untenderness, that the borrower parted from the former with a happier feeling than from the latter. Let the spirit of sympathy show itself, even in casual and desultory ways, an aroma of heartiness and cheerfulness insensibly spreads itself around. And like civility, it is a spirit that costs nothing, while it buys everything. It cost Boaz nothing as he went into his harvest-field, to cast his benignant smile on the reapers, and say—'The Lord be with you.' At once the response came from all lips and hearts—'The Lord bless thee.' The golden chain was forged in a moment, linking heart to heart, and under the master's eye the people worked not only more diligently but more happily than before. In domestic establishments especially, the spirit is invaluable. Sometimes one meets with people for whom one is sorry—really desirous of doing good to their servants, but deficient in the power of expressing their feeling—having a stiff, cold manner, that, till they are thoroughly known, chills and repels. I have known ladies of most excellent aims and principles, who would have done anything

for their servants in the way of providing them with books, reading to them, or otherwise promoting their improvement, but who never secured their affections or their confidence, from not having that genial manner, which can at once keep the place of mistress, and yet find its way to the heart of the servant. It is a difficult question, whether, once established, an ungenial manner can ever be got rid of. But there can be no doubt that it should be firmly battled with on the part of those who have fallen under it, and that young persons should be carefully trained to avoid it. As love and humility grow in the heart, the genial manner becomes more natural. Whatever formal plans are devised for the good of others will then work far more smoothly; and an air of life and hopefulness will characterize them all.

It would take a long time to enumerate the many different ways in which, even without formal plans, employers may do much to secure the confidence, and promote the welfare of their people. How many little arrangements may be made in the workshop or place of business for their comfort, that, like George Herbert's 'good words,' are worth much and cost little! The three great temporal gifts of Providence—air, water, and light—if an employer only show an anxiety that his workers shall be plentifully supplied with these, he will not exert himself in vain. Drinking fountains conveniently placed, and

other accommodations of a like kind, will far more than repay their cost. And everything that tends to convert the workshop from a dreary cave to a cheerful, loveable home is really invaluable.

Work is a dull enough business, and the workshop is usually a sombre enough place; to give it a cheerful aspect is to do not a little to lighten the burden of toil. Miss Nightingale laid down for us this little bit of philosophy in regard to hospitals, but it is hardly less applicable to workshops. In several of the Messrs. Nelsons' apartments at Hope Park, Edinburgh — their binding-shop and their folding-room, for example—I have admired the little devices to brighten up the place—niches and statuettes of stucco, Egyptian borders and tasteful paper-hangings, the effect of which is to excite in the workpeople an endeavour to be cleanly in their own persons, and to keep all tidy and free from litter. I observed something of the same kind in the well-managed establishment of Mr. Harper Twelvetrees, of Bow, near London. There, too, I noticed a well-meant device for promoting tender and respectful feelings among the workers—memorials of some of the work-girls who had died, neatly framed and hung up on the walls, showing the esteem in which they were held by their employer, and the affectionate regard of their companions.

Even a word or a look from an employer to a

workman has sometimes a magic power. The master is little to be envied who knows that one of his workmen has just sustained the bitterest bereavement he could endure, and is too proud to utter a word of sympathy. What a different feeling a few words of hearty interest at such a moment would evoke! Even a word of welcome to one who has been absent from sickness, with the expression of the hope that he will not find the labour too hard for his strength, will often be like cold water to the thirsty soul. Some masters have lately begun a practice—it may be an old one with others—of sending delicate work men or workwomen for a week or a fortnight to the country to recruit their strength. For compensation for this expenditure they trust to the effects of the increased strength and more willing service which their generosity is calculated to secure.

A patient ear, and a generous heart, to consider their grievances, when respectfully submitted, will be greatly prized; and, on the other hand, irritation and bitterness will as certainly result to the men from impatience and unreasonable denunciation by the masters. A case was stated lately to a Committee of the House of Commons, in which an employer of 1500 men was asked to receive a deputation who wished him to do something, and the master refused to hear a word. On the other hand, Mr. W. E. Foster told the same committee that his firm 'had

occasionally had differences with their working people, but that they had always prevented their coming to any disagreeable issue, by being on the watch to listen to any cause of discontent or disagreement, and by meeting the workmen themselves.'[1] Mr. Akroyd[2] and Mr. J. P. Wilson[3] have, in the most emphatic way, borne similar testimony. More than one member of the committee in question, in the report proposed to be presented to Parliament, dwelt on the distance maintained in the intercourse of masters and men as the ultimate cause of many a strike. Those who know human nature will not wonder at the statement. All my inquiries tend to show that it is most true. And very lamentable it certainly is that there should be so frightful conflagrations which so small a matter might have prevented.

The feelings of workmen who have long been under a master are apt to be hurt when some younger man, or perhaps an utter stranger, is unceremoniously put over their heads. The arrangement may be inevitable, but in carrying it out—if carry it out he must—a sympathetic master will try to do it as considerately as possible. I have a case in my eye in which a very dear friend of mine, finding such an arrangement necessary, acted to the disappointed

[1] *Select Committee on Masters and Operatives*, 1856, p. 107.
[2] *Proceedings of Social Science Association*, 1858.
[3] *Select Committee*, p. 153.

man with a tenderness and a bountifulness that might have sweetened any disappointment. This gentleman does not carry on specific plans of philanthropy; but his ever-considerate kindness has given him a very high place in the hearts of his workmen.

All meanness, and especially the meanness of extreme avarice, repels the workman. Paltry reductions of earnings, and hard beating down of reasonable demands, are alike distasteful. No doubt the workman is tempted to view matters too much from his own point of view, and to forget the necessity of pretty rigid adherence to rule in large establishments; yet I could not help once sympathizing with a poor woman whose boy, obliged now and then to miss an hour from delicate health, had something less than a halfpenny carefully deducted from two shillings a week for every hour that illness had required his absence! The case was the more noticeable that the master was somewhat prominent in the religious world; but the paltriness of the transaction neutralized the influence of the man.

The dread of being unceremoniously turned adrift when unable to work any longer, is another thing that makes a deep impression upon workmen. It is with a painful feeling they see an aged comrade receive his last payment of wages, when all intercourse between him and his employer comes to an end. Of course it is true that the employer only bargained to

pay him for his work, and not to support him when he could supply work no longer. But that there should continue to be some kindly bond between those who have been associated so long, is surely a legitimate desire. Masters are much to be commended who try to spare the feelings of their old workers by finding for their old age some easy and comfortable berth, or if that cannot be got, giving them a pension that will at least keep them off the parish. The writer of the life of the late Mr. Harris of Leicester mentions some interesting facts in his experience bearing on this matter. A gentleman had once occasion to go with him to examine the machinery of his factory. Mr. Harris told him he was anxious to go with him, for the sake of an old workman, who was now earning four or five shillings a week less than formerly. He had been ill, he said, for some months, his loom had been given to another, and he was dispirited because on returning he had got an inferior loom. Calling a fitter-up, and asking for some grinders, which he ascertained were good, Mr. Harris ordered a new loom to be fitted up by Saturday evening, that the old man might be able to get on better. Another visitor mentions his having seen several old men employed in one of the flats of the factory, who had been long in the service of the firm, but being too old to take charge of modern machinery, continued to work the old frame. The

firm lost a considerable sum by the arrangement, but; in the highest sense of the term, gained far more. Is not this one of the ways in which Christian employers are to carry their Christianity into business? I was much interested in an account which an employer in the west of Scotland gave me of his practice, when his profits were unusually high, of giving a bounty of ten or twenty pounds to some of his most valuable workmen, raising the wages of some others, and releasing some of the older ones from harness altogether, on a comfortable retiring allowance. How effectually this would put a stop to grumbling at the high profits of the master!

A little consideration would work wonders. 'I never thought of it' is a state of mind that kills tens of thousands. The fine lady in Hood's poem says honestly enough—

'The wounds I might have heal'd,
The human sorrow and smart;
And yet it never was in my soul
To play so ill a part.
But evil is wrought by want of Thought,
As well as want of Heart.'

I knew a very wealthy merchant who had in his employment for fifty years, at never more than forty shillings a week, a man that for trustworthiness, conscientious fidelity, and skill in business, was quite a treasure. In that wealthy bachelor's will, thousands of pounds were left to various charities, but not one

crown-piece to the faithful helper who had spent his life in serving him. He was too good and too Christian a man to grumble; but he did miss the pleasure it would have given him to have received even a trifling token of his master's regard.

By taking an interest in general movements designed mainly for the benefit of the working class, employers who find it inexpedient to attempt plans of their own may do much good. Some of these movements have already been adverted to, and therefore need only to be enumerated here. BUILDING SOCIETIES, for example, are admitted to be most beneficial to the working class, in enabling them to secure that first requisite to social improvement—a comfortable dwelling; and much may be done by masters for promoting such societies. Benefit or friendly societies, too, when placed on a right footing, are of the greatest use, and may be greatly helped by the cordial countenance of masters. The co-operative movement is a favourite one with workpeople, but demands an amount of caution and of precaution which makes the aid of men of business, accustomed to extensive transactions, exceedingly desirable. The half-holiday movement owed much of its success to the support of employers, and the early-closing movement, with its supplementary institutions—evening classes, people's colleges, mechanics' institutes, read-

ing-rooms, popular lectures, cheap concerts, and the like,—furnishes an admirable field for philanthropic exertions. In promoting public parks, recreation grounds, allotment gardens, and horticultural shows, an important step is taken towards creating a taste for healthy amusement, which all admit to be so desirable, if the tavern is ever to find its occupation gone. Dining-halls, baths, hospitals, and infirmaries have all their claims; and in the estimation of a zealous friend of the people, the late Mr. Sturge, of Birmingham, hydropathic establishments were so adapted for their good, that at his own expense he provided one applicable to the circumstances of workmen.

The promotion of temperance, it need not be said, is one of the most important objects that can engage the attention of the workman's friend. Nearly all who have laboured in the cause of the people come to see that intemperance is their bane and their curse, and sooner or later find themselves constrained to take the most determined attitude against it. Working men's clubs and institutes have proved of no little service in the battle with drink—partly as rallying-posts for the friends and missionaries of temperance, and partly as furnishing the opportunity of social enjoyment apart from the temptations of Bacchus.

Free libraries in our large towns are noble institu-

tions. There the working man may enjoy his book or his periodical at half-hours of the day, and for whole hours of the evening, contracting and nourishing a love of reading, that will intellectually at least be a great means of elevation.

Working men's exhibitions seem on the point of commencing a very useful career. They will furnish ingenious and active workmen with a special object for their leisure hours, and bring their products under the notice of many who will appreciate their skill, and reward their diligence. Employers, by lending tools, and 'offering such facilities to their workmen as will stimulate them to exercise their ingenuity in the production of articles for exhibition' (we use the words of a leading employer in Warwickshire), may do much to forward this interesting movement.

The great cause of education has surely a special claim on all employers of labour and friends of the people? To help to supply schools where they are needed, and to provide, in the shape of first-rate teaching, an article which parents should make a great effort to secure for their children; to give heart and energy to worthy teachers; to try to raise the standard of education, and diffuse a sense of its value throughout their neighbourhood, is surely an object worthy of their best endeavours. Many are tempted to substitute imperfect supplements for the genuine article. To evening classes we wish all manner of

success, if they are designed to supplement a very limited education obtained in the ordinary way; but in the great majority of cases, evening classes can never *lay the foundation* of a good education. The prevailing notion that the sooner a child ceases to cost his parents anything, and becomes an earner of wages, the better for all concerned, needs to be vigorously assailed. A higher public sentiment on this subject throughout England would be of inestimable value; and the friends of the people can do few greater services to them than by labouring to produce it.

Important, in their own place, though all such means of improving the condition of the working classes are, and therefore deserving all encouragement from philanthropic employers, it should ever be remembered that one method of elevation possesses a paramount importance and efficacy—the Gospel of the grace of God. Designed to cure all the evil that has come into our world through the fall, the Gospel is pre-eminently adapted to raise the class on whom the curse falls heaviest, and whose temptations are most overwhelming. From first to last, the history of Christianity is a record not only of individual conversion, but of social elevation; and much of its highest glory is derived from the wonderful transformations it has wrought on the lowest dregs of

humanity. The voice of love, as it falls from the Cross, has drawn responses from hearts that have defied every other attempt to subdue or reclaim them. The savages of the South Seas and the cannibals of New Zealand have owned its power, alike with Kingswood colliers or Cornish miners. It has proved a charm more effectual than the harp of Orpheus, to draw men from the haunts of sensuality. A power has come from it that has enabled working men to hold themselves erect; to spurn temptation; to march steadily along the hard path of toil; to be faithful to their masters and loyal to their God; to be loving at home and neighbourly abroad; and to abound in virtues and graces that throw the lustre of heaven on the most bare and monotonous lives. He must be blind indeed to the plainest lesson of all Christian history, who does not see that it is from the wings of the Sun of Righteousness the healing virtue comes, that, with all the certainty of a divine specific, restores health and vigour to the heart of man. To promote mere secular plans for the improvement of the masses, and stand aloof from the Gospel, would be like the folly of banishing the steam-engine from our workshops, and leaning on human thews and sinews for the work which is done so much more easily and efficiently by the great giant-power. It would be like shutting out the light of the sun from our houses and places of business,

and lighting candles to supply its place. The Gospel is God's blessed gift for the salvation of souls and for the regeneration of the world: to thrust it aside, and employ mere human agencies to do its work, is alike dishonouring to God and cruel to man.

No surer or more efficient operations, therefore, for benefiting the working class can be taken in hand by a philanthropic employer, than those which bring the pure influence of the Gospel to bear more fully and efficiently on workmen and their families. In what way this is to be done, is a question to be settled by himself. Whether, among his own people, by agents of his own—chaplains, or teachers, or Scripture-readers, or colporteurs, or Bible-women; or whether, without a formal agency, by personal intercourse with his own workers, or by encouraging pious foremen or others to do what they can among the rest; or by circulating Christian literature, and promoting meetings for religious worship and mutual improvement; or whether, by a friendly alliance with some neighbouring church or churches, and by giving facilities to devoted clergymen, or other Christian agents connected with them, to labour among his people; or whether by throwing his energies into the cause of one or more of the great home-missionary societies, such as Sunday-schools or City Missions;—whether by one, or several, or all of these methods, must be left to himself to determine. But surely,

when there is such a variety of methods of bringing the Gospel to bear on his people, there can be no excuse for neglecting them all. One other remark we must be allowed to add:—however high the sphere of the employer, it is a beautiful sight when he interests himself personally in the Christian welfare of his people. Then, too, is he in the way to obtain for himself and his family the richest blessing of God.

Occupied, as we have all along been in this little work, with the specific object of endeavouring to supply social links between employers and employed, it is quite possible that our remarks may lead to a wrong impression as to the responsibility of others besides employers, for the social and Christian well-being of the labouring masses. It may be thought that employers alone are responsible; and those who do not stand in that relation may fancy that they at all events have no duty in the matter. To dissipate this fancy, let it be observed that if it be true that the ground on which the *special* duty of employers to their own workpeople rests,[1] is that of *neighbourhood*, the same obligation, though not in so great a degree, rests on many others besides. 'The responsibilities of the employer,' says a writer already quoted, 'spring not out of the contract itself which he has

[1] See chap. iii.

made with his workpeople, but out of its secondary consequences. They are entailed on him not as the employer of these men, but because his employment of them makes him in a peculiar sense their "neighbour." If the manufacturer and the country squire owe duties to their workmen, from which the independent gentleman, living idly on his income, exempts himself, it is not, as this latter and the world at large are apt loosely to imagine, because they have accepted from those they employ services for which money wages are only a partial and inadequate repayment. On the contrary, by the punctual discharge of their portion of a fair and equitable bargain, they have already performed a duty and rendered a service to their workpeople, which the idle gentleman has forgotten or shirked. . . . There has always seemed to us great folly, and some feelings even less excusable, in the abuse which the pharisaic fundholder and the lazy mortgagee—who have carefully shunned the responsibilities and anxieties which belong to an industrial connexion with the working classes—lavish on the great employers of labour, for collecting together large numbers of workmen, and rendering their labour available for the joint benefit of both parties, as if by so doing they had incurred, more than other men, the obligation of supporting, instructing, and controlling them.'[1]

[1] Greg's *Essays*, II. 280.

We certainly have no idea of teaching any such doctrine. For over and above the consideration of neighbourhood, we hold that the obligation lies on all Christians, 'To do good to all men as they have opportunity.' With all real Christianity there is incorporated a missionary element, that like leaven ever tends outwards, seeking to impregnate all whom it can reach with its own heavenly life. The awful value which Christianity attaches to the soul, and the overwhelming issues for eternity which it suspends on the relation in which the soul stands to God, constrain all earnest Christians to take the liveliest interest in the spiritual welfare of all to whom their influence extends. No earnest Christian will look with indifference on any class of spiritually-destitute persons around him, on the ground that it is not his part to care for them. It is his part, if it be possible for him to do anything for their good. So long as they are neglected or unprovided for, he cannot rest in peace; for, no more than a warm-hearted man can see his fellows drowning without trying to rescue them, can the real Christian see souls perishing without an effort to save them.

We have made our special appeal to employers. But we do not make it to them exclusively. Whoever can help without hurting the working classes, let him help them. Whoever pants to see them brought to the Friend of the weary and heavy laden, let him

hasten to the rescue. Whoever longs for the highest glory of his country—longs to see its moral wastes turned into fruitful fields, and its mines of undeveloped wealth yielding all manner of precious things, let him gird himself to the task. There is little fear of too many workers, where the harvest is so great, and the labourers so few.

CHAPTER XI.

GLIMPSES OF THE FUTURE.

> 'After Adam, work was curse;
> The natural creature labours, sweats and frets.
> But after Christ, work turns to privilege,
> And henceforth, one with our humanity,
> The Six-Day Worker working still in us,
> Has called us freely to work on with Him
> In high companionship.'—MRS. E. BARRETT BROWNING.

IT is well known that some distinguished political economists consider the system now ruling the world of labour to be essentially unsound. In the view of Mr. Ruskin, competition is an unchristian abomination, to be swept from the face of the earth. As an economist, Mr. Ruskin occupies a very different place from that so justly assigned to him as a writer on art; but, in political economy, the name of Mr. John Stuart Mill stands nearly as high as that of Mr. Ruskin in his own department. Mr. Mill cannot think it probable, even supposing that improved intelligence and just laws should alter the distribution of produce to the advantage of the working classes,

that they will be contented with the permanent condition of labouring for wages as their ultimate state. 'To work at the bidding and for the profit of another, without any interest in the work,—the price of their labour being adjusted by hostile competition, one side demanding as much, and the other paying as little as possible—is not, even when wages are high, a satisfactory state to human beings of educated intelligence, who have ceased to think themselves naturally inferior to those whom they serve.'[1] To remedy this evil, the plan recommended by Mr. Mill is, that the workmen should have a share of the profits, along with their employers. In support of this view, he quotes the authority of Mr. Babbage, in his well-known 'Economy of Manufactures;' and another writer of distinguished name, Mr Samuel Laing, in his 'Essay on the Causes and Remedies of National Distress.' Some reference is made to the arrangement prevailing in the working of the mines of Cornwall, and in the American ships trading to China, as showing the practicability of the system recommended; but the case on which the greatest stress is laid is that of a house-painter in Paris, M. Leclaire, of whose plans an account was given in *Chambers's Journal* for September 27, 1845.[2]

[1] *Political Economy*, ii. 324 (2d Edit. 1849).

[2] The only case in which the idea of Mr. Mill is carried out *to the full extent* is that of the Cornish miners; they do not receive any weekly wages, but contract in gangs for certain pieces

M. Leclaire is represented as employing some two hundred workmen, whom he paid in the usual manner, by fixed salaries or wages. To himself, besides interest for his capital, he assigned a fixed salary as allowance for his labour and responsibility as manager. At the end of the year the surplus was divided among the body, himself included, in the proportion of their salaries. When the account of his plan was published, less than half the workmen employed had been admitted to its benefits. What induced him to resort to it was the annoyance caused by the indifference of workmen, who did not perform two-thirds the work of which they were capable; he believed that if the interests of the master and those of the workman could be bound up with each other, both the loss and the irritation arising from this cause would be entirely obviated. During the year in which his experiment had been in operation, it worked remarkably well in every way, no workman earning less than 1500 francs, or £60 a year. In 1848, according to M. Chevalier, in his *Lettres sur l'Organisation du Travail*, the experiment continued to work well.

In answer to my inquiries, Mr. W. Chambers has obligingly informed me that he has never heard

of work; but it is admitted that much inconvenience arises from the irregularity and uncertainty of their receiving payment, and the necessity of their living on credit meanwhile. In the other cases, fixed wages are paid to the labourers, so that they are partners only to a very limited extent.

more of the experiments of M. Leclaire; and having found no allusion to anything of the kind in recent works, I do not think it likely that the system has spread. It is a plan that will work very well when trade is good and profits ample; but if there be loss instead of profit, it can only produce to the workmen the sickness of disappointment and hope deferred. Some years ago, one of the best and kindest employers of Edinburgh intimated his intention of giving his workmen a percentage on the profit of his establishment; but unfortunately, soon after the announcement, losses so heavy were incurred, that no practical action has been taken in connexion with it.

I have been induced to examine this subject with some attention, in consequence of the strong opinion expressed by some earnest friends of the people with whom I have been in correspondence, that it is vain to attempt to allay the hostile feeling between employers and employed, unless such a system as this be adopted. On the other hand, I must confess myself greatly impressed by the remarks of Mr. Greg, in his critique on 'Mary Barton,' in the *Edinburgh Review;* for, differing *toto cœlo* from Mr. Greg in his religious opinions, and in his estimate of the arguments by which he supports them, I am the more ready to avow my admiration of the clear, calm, and comprehensive judgment which he brings to bear on social problems. 'We have considered,' he says,

'all that Mr. Mill has written on the subject in his recent invaluable work, with the attention due to everything which he puts forth; and with the prepossession which we always have, that so profound and dispassionate a thinker must be right; and we have discussed the matter with experienced men of practice, under the sincerest desire to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. But we are obliged to declare that the difficulties of the scheme seem to us insuperable.'

The difficulties are mainly these:—1. The plan would involve the necessity, to begin with, of lowering the rate of fixed wages, as no one could undertake to pay the same rate of fixed weekly wages, and a considerable annual profit to the bargain; 2. In years of loss, the workman, instead of receiving a profit, would incur a debt to his employer; and, 3. When the hands were very numerous, and constantly changing, the difficulties of *working* the scheme would be insuperable. It is admitted that it is easy to give to some of the principal workmen employed in factories (the foremen, for example) a certain percentage of the yearly profits in addition to their salary, and that this is often done, and might be done in other cases with much advantage. But in these cases, though the men are select, no attempt is made to make them sharers in losses as well as in gains. 'The share they receive is simply an additional salary

or bonus, given when the business is profitable; is, in fact, neither more nor less than an advance in wages, withdrawn when the capitalist can no longer afford to give it.'

Little, therefore, it seems, can be expected from any scheme which would confer on the workman the emoluments, without the substantial position, of a capitalist. But why should not the workman become a *bonâ fide* holder of part of the capital of the concern? Under the recent law of limited liability, the question becomes more pertinent than ever. In several cases employers themselves have taken the matter up. Where it has been determined to convert large concerns into joint-stock companies, a stipulation has in some instances been made, that in allotting the shares assigned to the public, a preference shall be given to the workmen of the concern. This stipulation was introduced in the recent proposal of Messrs. Crossley, of Halifax, for enlarging the basis of their business. Another scheme of a similar kind was lately started, proposing to constitute a company for working the collieries of Messrs. Briggs, at Whitwood and Methley, near Normanton, Yorkshire, 'with the primary view of securing the co-operation of all those connected with the collieries, either as managers and workpeople or as customers, in the earnest hope of thus effecting a satisfactory solution of the difficult problem now so largely occupying

the attention of political economists and philanthropists, namely, the best mode of associating capital and labour, and of preventing the occurrence of those trade disputes which so frequently disturb the social relations of our country.' Besides offering a preference to managers and workmen and customers of the collieries in the allotment of shares, the prospectus recommends that whenever the profits of the business should exceed ten per cent., all those employed by the company should receive one-half of such excess-profit as a bonus, to be distributed amongst them in proportion to their respective earnings.

The fact is, that till very lately no idea could have seemed more Utopian than that of a workman holding a portion of the capital of a large concern. In the first place, the state of the law did not admit of it; in the second place, the masters did not desire it; and in the third place, the men could not even dream of it. They never fancied it possible that they could accumulate sufficient funds to make them capitalists. Recent years have changed all that. The millions deposited by the working classes in savings banks have shown how rapidly they are capable of accumulating capital. The additional millions still more recently invested in the funds of building and co-operative societies have immensely enlarged our conceptions of what may be done in this direction. The astounding fact, that more than sixty millions

sterling are spent annually by the working classes in strong drink and tobacco, shows what immense masses of property they might acquire if these millions were turned into a more profitable channel. That there are ample sums in their hands waiting for investment is further plain from the very frequent complaint of masters, in certain trades, that the more wages their workmen get, the worse do they become. There is no need, therefore, for speaking any longer of workmen as if they were incapable of becoming capitalists. Unhappily it is true that there are several trades and employments where the wages are so small that this is at present impossible. And in the case of workmen with large families, it is both foolish and cruel to speak as if they were in an *embarras des richesses*. But taking workmen as a whole, it is beyond doubt that their resources are capable of furnishing a large amount of capital. It is in this way, we apprehend, and not by a plan that would give them the benefit without the substance of capital, that their future elevation, in the direction indicated by Mr. Mill, is to be secured.

We do things gradually in this country; and it seems by far the wisest plan for masters to begin by offering an interest in the prosperity of their business to those who have been longest connected with it, and who by their steadiness, diligence, and economy, have shown themselves worthiest of it. The know-

ledge that by such qualities these men had gained their position would be a stimulus to other workers to do likewise. These men would have a deep interest in encouraging every scheme fitted to promote the general welfare, and would be most valuable allies to philanthropic and Christian masters in working out such plans. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to show how the arrangement is likely to work in places where it has been tried; but if the results should prove encouraging, their ultimate bearing on the happiness and prosperity of great establishments, and on the elevation of workmen, must be incalculable.

It is always in the power of working men, should no openings occur for becoming shareholders in their master's business, such as those that have been noticed, to club their savings together, and to commence and carry on works of their own. Experiments of this kind have been made under the co-operative system. In some cases they have been attended with success; in other cases they have not had the like result. The question of management is a difficult one: for simplicity and unity in the governing body is most desirable, but it is not easily attained, where many masters are desirous of having a finger in the pie. Experience, however, will teach the working classes, as it has taught the middle, the necessity of forbearance and generous

confidence in those whom they intrust with the management of their affairs; only, to warrant that confidence, they must take care not to allow themselves to be caught by the more showy and superficial qualities of aspirants to leadership, but to look out for leaders and managers of tried worth and solid wisdom—'able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness.'

By becoming themselves capitalists, and in a sense masters, workmen will be in a much better position to understand the merits of the questions that are so fiercely agitated between employers and employed. As it is, their sympathies are all on one side; and looking at these questions entirely from the workman's point of view, they are exceedingly prone to form wrong, or at least exaggerated conclusions regarding them. By becoming capitalists, even though only to a limited extent, they would not only understand better the difficulties of masters, but their sympathies would be partly with them, and partly with their working brethren. It is wonderful how a slight change of position affects one's view of the merits of a controversy. Divided sympathies have a wonderful effect in making one forbearing and considerate. The principle operates beneficially in every sphere of life, and although, no doubt, it would indicate a higher state if men could view every question of the kind quite apart from their own

interests and feelings, such a state of perfection is not likely to be reached under the present order of things. In a moral point of view, therefore, we attach great importance to the habit of accumulation, under the conditions which we have specified in *Better Days for Working People.* The amount of sin and strife, of passion and ferocity, which this habit would contribute to avert, it is impossible to calculate.

But remedies like these, it may be said, are slow and gradual; and at any time, while benevolent men are trying to urge them forward, there may arise a fierce tornado in the world of labour, that will sweep everything before it, and drive masters and men into an attitude of ruthless war. Such a tornado has been sweeping over the 'black country,' as I have been writing these pages, in the shape of the strike and lock-out. In certain aspects, that event is a most distressing and discouraging one. To my mind it is peculiarly distressing, because the masters appear to have taken up a very unhappy position—trying to cure, or rather crush a combination by a combination—themselves combining to prevent the men from combining—casting out devils by the power of Beelzebub. Yet there are features of a hopeful kind in connexion with this very occurrence. There has been a strong effort on both sides to repress passion, and the offer of arbitration has been so readily welcomed, as to give great hope that by similar means,

disputes of the same kind may in future be wholly averted, or readily adjusted. Whether or not we are ready for the institution of arbitration courts, or ever shall be, is a question of considerable difficulty. The experience of France and Belgium, in their 'Conseils des Prud'hommes,' has shown that it is quite possible to have tribunals, consisting of masters and men in equal numbers, with a neutral president, by whom very many disputes in the world of labour are readily settled.[1] But whether such 'Conseils des Prud'hommes' could grapple with the question of wages, is a different matter. Perhaps the more English method is to work away for a time with arbiters specially appointed as cases may arise, and allow the experience so gathered to prepare the way for a definite institution. It is remarkable that the same Birmingham newspaper which announced the commencement of the lock-out in the iron-districts, published elaborate articles of agreement come to between the masters and workmen in the *building* trades, who had wisely agreed to refer their differences to an arbiter. In the north of England, in the carpet-weaving trade, an annual meeting has been held for a number of years, at which representatives of the masters and the men are present, and where their differences are amicably adjusted. It is difficult

[1] See Appendix to Select Committee's Report on Masters and Operatives, 1856.

to understand the objection of the master-engineers to arbitration, in their statement of 1852. They admitted that they had 'no reason to doubt that the award of the arbiters would be honest, intelligent, and satisfactory,' and yet they bitterly repudiated it, because the masters were the proper parties to regulate their own business, and all they begged was to be let alone. They forgot, or wrote as if they had forgotten, that the irritation prevailing at the time made it impossible for them to regulate that very important part of their business which consisted in coming to an amicable agreement with their men; and in declining an arbitration which they were sure would be honest, intelligent, and satisfactory, they refused the only feasible method of regaining a position where they might have their wish, and be let alone.

There is another important question that has much to do with the moral and social elevation of the working class,—I mean the extension of the suffrage. Not a little misapprehension seems to prevail on this point. Because the masses do not assemble in tens of thousands, or sign petitions by the million, it is thought that the question is one in which they feel little interest, and that it can have no important or vital bearings on their character and condition. But though the *masses* may not be caring much about it, the case is different with the intelligent and thoughtful few; and I have reason to know that, in their case,

the exclusion of their class from all part in the government of the country acts as a silent irritant: it causes a sense of neglect and distrust, and tends to separate their sympathies from the governing classes. The gradual extension of the suffrage, I believe, would have a happier and better effect than most people dream of. Instead of subverting the institutions of the country, it would probably place them on a more lasting basis. It would weld the different classes of society more together, and vastly increase the social strength of the land. It would stimulate the cause of national education; for we could not endure that the suffrage should be in the hands of uneducated men. It would greatly increase the number of those who feel a pride and pleasure in the elevation of their country. The longer the measure is delayed, the more urgent must it become; at least in the view of those who look below the surface, and with whom deep, silent forces weigh more than a hundred noisy demonstrations.

On the whole, there seems no good reason why we should despair of the masses of our country, or deem it impossible to achieve the grand moral, social, and spiritual results which God seems to have had in view in giving us our pre-eminence in the world of labour. We should indeed despair, and that utterly, if it were not for the spirit of Christianity, and the

influence which that spirit would have, if more largely prevailing both among masters and men. But even already some progress has been made. It is admitted that on the whole a better spirit characterizes the relations of masters and men than prevailed five-and-twenty years ago. 'If the Preston masters,' said Mr. Cowell, of Preston, in 1859, 'had been the same masters in 1853 as they are now, the Preston lock-out would never have taken place.' The feeling seems to be gaining ground on both sides that, if they but knew it, the interests of masters and men are identical. It is not the interest of the masters to have a starved, alienated, discontented, careless set of men. It is not the interest of the men to have masters struggling with difficulty, and hardly able, through the smallness of their profits, to keep their concern above water. It is the real interest of the masters to have intelligent, sober, industrious, obliging workers, dwelling in comfortable houses, working in comfortable workshops, and well supplied with all the means adapted to promote the welfare both of their bodies and of their souls. It is the real interest of the men to have masters who will be encouraged to try to promote their welfare, and who will not be driven into their shell to avoid the suspicion of plotting for their own advantage. It is the interest of the masters that there should be an independent spirit in their men, and it is the interest of the men that there

should be an independent spirit in their masters. But it needs something of the free, wide vision of Christianity to see that in all these ways their interests are identical. In clutching at present gain, the narrow spirit of the natural man overlooks many of the conditions that are essential to permanent success. Enlarging at once his heart and his vision, Christianity shows him how a present loss is often a permanent gain, and how surely the spirit of considerate love brings its reward in the end. Are these things not becoming better understood and more deeply felt? Are men not coming to see that it is a blessing to have masters who have a concern for their welfare? And are masters not coming to see that it is a blessing to have men who love and esteem them, who rejoice in their prosperity, and grieve for their trials?

And why should we, who are every day praying 'Thy kingdom come,' despair of this spirit becoming far more widely diffused and deeply seated? Is not this an important part of what is involved in the coming of the kingdom of God? Is it not one of the greatest laws of that kingdom, second in importance to but one other,—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'? It is one of the peculiar features of the active religious spirit of the present day, that it seeks to spread itself through all the ordinary pursuits and occupations of men; it will not be confined to holy

places or sacred times; it claims business and even recreation among its subjects, and unfurls its flag over the factory, the counting-house, and the exchange, as well as the church, the chapel, and the closet. The pulpit urges employers to carry their Christianity into their relations with their servants, and tread in the footsteps of their great Master, in all the transactions of business life. It urges servants to do service with goodwill, as to the Lord, and not to men. If our faith in Christianity leads us to anticipate, among the certain realities of the future, a time when every nation, barbarous and civilized, shall bow at the name of Jesus, why should we despair of a time when all classes of a professedly Christian community shall make it their daily business to honour the laws of his kingdom?

The growth of a truly Christian spirit would neither exalt the people at the expense of the masters, nor the masters at the expense of the people. It would elevate both alike. It would make the masters more considerate, and the people more willing. It would clear the atmosphere of those barbarous elements of strife that from time to time have made the world of labour as hideous to look upon as a battle-field. It would dispose both sides to a peaceful settlement of their differences. It would lead each to take a generous view of the position of the other, and to make great allowance for difficulties and provoca-

tions. It would give each a leading place in the prayers of the other, and hallow their relation by holy sympathies that spring from the Cross. It would cause both to recognise their respective positions, as assigned to them by One whom of all beings they are bound to respect; and to recognise each other, though differing in the functions expected of them, as fellow-workers for one great end. Under such influences, the wilderness would indeed rejoice and blossom as the rose. What store of warm affection and unswerving fidelity on the part of workmen would thus be unlocked, and of kindly sympathy and self-denying effort on the part of masters! What happy families would be reared, what valuable citizens given to the state, what sons as plants grown up in their youth, and daughters as corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace! After years of strifes and strikes, of tumult and tossing, the dove with the olive leaf would at last settle on the ark, and even of masters and men who have never ceased to be ranged in warlike attitude against each other, it would be said at last, 'Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!'

I would never have a master to regard the peace and content which the Gospel brings to the heart of a pious workman as any reason why he should not, with generous heart and liberal hand, render to that workman 'that which is just and equal.' St.

James has told us what to think of masters professing Christianity that have become rich, 'while the hire of their labourers who have reaped down their fields, and is by them kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.' But I would most earnestly urge on masters to consider that if the hope that maketh not ashamed brightens a poor man's lot, it wonderfully transfigures it, and makes it infinitely easier for him to plod on

> 'Wherever Nature needs,
> Wherever Labour calls.'

What can be more dreary than an existence of unbroken toil, unrefreshed by any sense of God's love or man's, and unbrightened by any hope beyond? We need not wonder if infidels are fierce, or secularists bitter! The benefit conferred on a working man by the Gospel is unspeakable every way. Silver and gold become corruptible things when placed side by side with the precious blood of Christ. Therefore the greatest service the master can do to his men is to try to get them brought under the power of the Gospel. Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come. The very curse of labour is changed into a blessing. The sorrows of the night become endurable, because joy cometh in the morning. Often and often this has been the consolation of the worker, under suffering and oppression. It is

what has kept his heart from breaking when it had sunk very low. The miners' poet draws not on fancy but fact when he makes the miner, in his morning song, thus call his fellow to his repulsive task :—

> 'Be cheerful, poor brother! I've heard of a land
> Where no over labour e'er blisters the hand—
> A land where no fetters of slavery are seen,
> Where the grindstone of tyranny never hath been.
> Perhaps we'll go there when our ploddings are o'er,
> And then we'll be weary-boned miners no more.'

That some employers who have worked hard in the cause of the people should be feeling considerable discouragement, and should even be ready to abandon their attempts in despair, does not surprise us, but is at the same time far from reasonable. What great moral harvest was ever ripened and reaped by a *coup de main?* If the cause in question should have its pioneers, its sufferers, and even its martyrs, is it not worthy of them? Our restless and impatient generation would leave Providence all behind. We will not dig the trenches, unless you can guarantee that, in a week or two at furthest, our flag shall float in triumph from the citadel. As much as any other, this cause demands that combination of ardent enterprise, dogged perseverance, and elastic tact through which, in due time, other enterprises attain their triumphs. What though *we* should not be allowed to set foot in the land of Promise? Is it nothing to see signs of activity and progress that point, though

it be afar, to the final issue,—to have the consolation that cheered the dying Cavour, 'The cause lives!'

Let Christian employers, then, take courage and persevere. Let them confer more with one another, and with Christian ministers and friends interested in their object, as well as with the more intelligent and trusty of their own subordinates, for in the multitude of counsellors there is safety. Let them go boldly and manfully to the great Source of Wisdom, asking Him to guide and bless them in all their endeavour to do His work. Let them feel that God calls them to rouse their brother-employers to a sense of their responsibility, to give an impulse to sleeping consciences,—to remind them that, in their case emphatically, England, and England's God, 'expects every man to do his duty.' The cause is so great, and so full of glorious issues, that they need not mind a few angry words from some. These will be light, compared with the benedictions of their fellow-men, and the blessing of God.

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